The Christian East

A QUARTERLY REVIEW DEVOTED TO THE STUDY OF THE EASTERN CHURCHES

EDITED BY
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The Christian East

THE ANGLO-CATHOLIC PILGRIMAGE TO PALESTINE.

BY THE REV. G. NAPIER WHITTINGHAM.

"VIVE le pèlerinage Anglo-Catholique, vive l'Angleterre!" cried the skipper of the good ship that brought us in safety to Jaffa. Except for one incident, to which I shall presently refer, the words of our Captain were repeated in one language or another throughout that wonderful and rightly merry month of May.

The setting out of an Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage seven years after the recovery of the Holy Land from the blight of Turkish misrule, and nearly seven hundred years after the last ill-fated Crusade, must naturally be an adventure of the greatest interest to all Christians, and more especially to members of the Church of England, which has so great a responsibility towards Palestine. Pilgrimages to-day, even in our dear prosaic old England, are not uncommon, but the pilgrimage of last May which had as its end and object devotion to the Holy Places, was one of paramount importance.

"May I assure the Pilgrims through you," wrote Sir Ronald Storrs, Governor of Jerusalem, "that their visit was very deeply appreciated by all classes and all sections of the community." The Venerable Stacy Waddy, Archdeacon of the Anglican Church in Palestine, in an interesting letter summing up the values of the pilgrimage, said: "It has shown this little world of Jerusalem, so small but so intensely representative and important, that the Church of England is a *big* thing; and that it does not only produce tourists, but people who come to say their prayers and offer their worship. You leave us enheartened and strengthened; and, we feel confident, enriched with friends, helpers and interpreters. Farewell, and come again." While Mgr. Timotheos Themelis, Archbishop of Jordan and formerly Secretary to the Greek Patriarchate of Jerusalem, in bidding us good-bye, added: "I hope there will be a pilgrimage like yours every year, for nothing can give greater help to the cause of Re-union."

The feelings of both Anglican and Eastern Christians in Palestine might be summed up in the words of yet one more letter: "We are all tremendously thankful for the Pilgrimage." Thus the verdict of those who were our hosts and gave us of their best: what the pilgrims themselves felt is made abundantly clear in the general desire for a second pilgrimage, so that others may also share their great privileges.

A dismissal service, unique in the annals of the Anglican Communion, was held on the eve of the pilgrimage at All Saints', Margaret Street, when the Bishop of Willesden blessed and distributed the Scallop Shells marked with a red cross, the emblem of St. George, while Mgr. Germanos, Metropolitan of Thyateira, hallowed the ikon of *repoussé* silver work, very beautiful and cunningly designed by Mr. Omar Ramsden, representing St. George and the Dragon, a gift to the Patriarch of Jerusalem for the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Bishop of Nassau, president of the pilgrimage, sang the *Itinerarium*, and then the pilgrims themselves were blessed, first by the Greek Metropolitan and then by the Bishop of Willesden. The Bishop of Nebraska, representing the Episcopal Church of America, himself a pilgrim, was also present in the Sanctuary.

Six days later we steamed into the ancient harbour of Alexandria.

Of our voyage on the Mediterranean there is not much to relate, except that it was altogether unlike an ordinary sea-passage, as we were pilgrims, not tourists. The captain of our ship, the *Sphinx*, one of the more recently built boats of the Messageries Maritimes line—did his utmost to fall in with the wishes of the pilgrimage committee. Thus we were allowed to use the first-class music room for daily Masses, which were said every half-hour from 5.30 a.m. to 8 a.m., and an anteroom for Sacristy. Evensong was sung daily on one of the decks together with some favourite hymns, and then our President would give a short address in a voice that defied alike the wind and the waves. After dinner there was generally a lecture on some interesting topic connected with the Holy Land and Eastern Christendom in the great dining-room, which was always well attended by the pilgrims. Sunday was a glorious day: the sea was comparatively calm and matched the sky in that wonderful deep blue which one learns to expect on the Mediterranean. High Mass was sung by the Bishop of Nassau, and a short address given by the Bishop of Nebraska, both the captain and purser of the ship being in attendance.

The real business of the pilgrimage began at Alexandria, where we were greeted by perfect weather and glorious sunshine, the first visit to the East of most of the pilgrims. Here we had many duties to fulfil and therefore, soon after 9 a.m. the clerical members of the Pilgrimage proceeded in cars to the Anglican Church of St. Mark, where a welcome awaited us from the Chaplain, the Reverend W. Gladwyn Batty, who presented us to Dr. Gwynne, Anglican Bishop in Egypt. Then we donned academic robes, the Bishops in scarlet chimeres over their purple cassocks, and drove to the Orthodox Patriarchate, where, at the moment of our arrival, the bells broke out into a wonderful clatter of tuneless gaiety to welcome us. Unfortunately, the Patriarch was absent at Cairo, but we were received with real Eastern courtesy by his Vicar, the Metropolitan Theophanes Archbishop of Tripoli, a throng of Archimandrites and Priests in gorgeous array, and after we had all been duly censed and a Litany of intercession for the pilgrims had been sung, the Metropolitan proceeded to read in Greek an address of welcome duly interpreted by a layman standing at his side. (This address will be found in the Appendix.) At its conclusion, the Bishop of Nassau,

standing at a throne facing that of the Metropolitan, read the address, which was drawn up and engrossed on vellum in London before our departure, and a copy of it in Greek was handed to His Grace. This address was published in the last number of CHRISTIAN EAST, it also appeared in full in the *Egyptian Gazette*. After more singing and blessings and a further joyous outburst of bells we departed to pay a visit to the Copts.

At the Coptic Patriarchate we were received by the Patriarchal Vicar at the entrance of the great courtyard, and then, preceded by boys wearing great crowns of red plush trimmed with gold and carrying picturesque banners, singing lustily and without pause we entered the Church. Here again we were received with much enthusiasm and after being censed and blessed, an address was read by a Coptic priest and our Bishop asked to offer prayer, and then we adjourned in the accustomed manner to a large hall in the convent.

By the courtesy of Sir Henry Lunn the Committee were empowered to entertain at a public lunch some of the heads and leading ecclesiastics and laymen of the Church in Alexandria at the Hotel Majestic. About forty were present, and among the guests were the Metropolitan Theophanes Archbishop of Tripoli with two Greek Archimandrites, the Armenian Bishop, a Syrian Archimandrite, the Patriarchal Vicar of the Coptic Church with a priest and two laymen, the Anglican Bishop in Egypt and the Sudan, Archdeacon Palmer, the Bishop of Nebraska, the captain and purser of the *Sphinx*, the Bishop of Nassau presiding. Several speeches were made and toasts were given to the King of Egypt, the Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria, the Armenian Church, and to Sir Henry Lunn as host. The speeches all tended towards the subject of Re-union and there was much cordiality.

In the afternoon, in order to show our affection for, and sympathy with the Armenian Church, we attended a special service at the Armenian Convent, where we found everything ready for our reception. Here the President was met by the Vicar of the Armenian Bishop, invested with a cope and a great mitre much bejewelled, given a pastoral staff and a small hand cross, and then led to the High Altar, which he was invited to cense, and afterwards gave the pontifical blessing. At the conclusion of this short and picturesque ceremony we adjourned, *more solito*, to the Convent, where introductions were made and short speeches followed.

Next day, being the Greek festival of St. George, the President with his Chaplains, together with a number of pilgrims, attended the Orthodox Liturgy officially at the Greek Patriarchal Church. Later in the day we sailed for Port Said and on Thursday, May 8th, arrived at Jaffa in the early hours of a glorious morning.

Jaffa, the ancient Joppa, is not exactly the best of sea-ports for landing. There is no harbour worthy of the name, and the steamer remains on the high seas while little boats gather round in clusters to take off the passengers. Sometimes the sea is so rough that the transport is not effected without inconvenience. However, on this morning the sea was fairly calm and the pilgrims safely landed. On nearing the ancient city the pilgrims were amazed by its wonderful beauty,

ancient houses extending their terraces along the sides of a lofty hill covered with luxuriant vegetation. The pilgrim is always thrilled at the sight of Jaffa, for it is the entrance to the Holy Land.

On the landing stage we were met by the Archimandrite of the local Greek Church and Archdeacon Waddy, representing the Anglican Church in Palestine, and after saying our private prayers in the Greek Church and being photographed on the picturesque terrace overlooking the sea, we climbed the steep and narrow streets in the sun which was already beginning to make itself felt, past the traditional site of the House of Simon the Tanner to the C.M.S. Church, where *Te Deum* was sung with much enthusiasm.

On arrival at Jerusalem the pilgrims were met by representatives of the Anglican Cathedral and escorted at once to a spot where they had their first view of the Holy City; here we sang Psalms cxxi and cxxii, prayers of thanksgiving were offered, then the pilgrims were driven to their respective hostels, and many made use of the interval of rest by paying their first visit to Calvary and the Holy Tomb. The same afternoon the pilgrims visited the Mount of Olives and prayed in Gethsemane, and later attended a reception at St. George's. The Bishop, alas! was in bed with a high temperature; in fact, he was ill most of the time we were in Palestine, which prevented him from being present at several of the functions connected with the pilgrimage.

The reception was most interesting, especially as almost every Christian Church was represented. The Armenian Patriarch, a dignified and scholarly cleric, came in person and discoursed to all and sundry in fluent French. The Orthodox Patriarch was represented by our good friend the Archbishop of Jordan, Syrian, Coptic and Abyssinian clerics were all there, and even a Latin priest of English nationality. There were also the C.M.S. and L.J.S. missionaries and others whose religious convictions I fail to remember. The Governor of Jerusalem, Sir Ronald Storrs, and Sir Gilbert Clayton, chief secretary to the High Commissioner were present, and the former, being well versed in Eastern languages, was most useful as interpreter.

The original Committee of the Pilgrimage was appointed by the Anglo-Catholic Congress in June, 1923, and consisted of Prebendary Mackay as President, the Revs. Arnold Pinchard, Maurice Child, and G. Napier Whittingham acting as unofficial secretary. Unfortunately, neither Prebendary Mackay nor Mr. Pinchard were able to come on the pilgrimage though both of them did much useful work for us in London; the Bishop of Nassau and Mr. Sidney Dark were therefore chosen to fill the vacant places, the former being appointed President. Two others were added later to the committee, namely, the Rev. Humphrey Whitby and Mr. Samuel Gurney. We were most fortunate in having the Bishop of Nassau as our president, his enthusiasm, tact and *bonhomie* making him a *persona grata* wherever he went. The Committee had no easy task and most of their time on board the *Sphinx* and during the evenings in Jerusalem was occupied in making necessary arrangements regarding the religious side of the Pilgrimage. Thanks to the efficiency of Sir Henry Lunn's representative, Colonel Fergusson, who acted as "conductor" throughout, and Mr. Tadros his Jerusalem agent, overworked

but courteous to all, the committee had but little concern in things material. One of the first acts of the committee in Jerusalem was to arrange for the saying of Mass in the Chapel of Abraham which adjoins Calvary, and in St. George's Cathedral. This was no easy matter, for naturally, all the forty-five priests desired to say Mass in the Holy City. Ultimately, with one priest in charge of each hostel, difficulties were overcome, and six Masses were said daily at the Chapel of Abraham and from eight to ten Masses at St. George's. I must add here how greatly we were indebted, both in this and other matters, to the clergy and laity of St. George's, for all the help they gave us.

It had been arranged that we should visit the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on the day after our arrival, but as this was a Friday, which is always " washing-day " at that Church, plans had been altered and we drove in some sixty motors to the Basilica of the Holy Nativity at Bethlehem, where we arrived shortly after 9.30 a.m. I relate these details for reasons that will appear obvious later on. The " Fiery Cross " borne by Fr. Millard, C.R., went before us ; the Bishops of Nassau and Nebraska were clothed in scarlet chimere and rochet ; the priests in cassocks, gowns, scarf and hood, and wearing the English cap. In the great courtyard in front of the Basilica we were received by Gregorios, Archbishop of Bethlehem and Guardian of the Holy Places, the Archbishop of Jordan, together with Archimandrites and monks of the Greek Convent. A large crowd of local Christians gathered round us, and we had to submit to a volley of " snapshots " from a veritable army of Kodaks. The usual presentations and salutations were then made, the crowd of pilgrims formed into orderly procession, and, headed by the Greek Archbishops who wore no vestments other than their black robes, with only the " enkolpion " to distinguish them from ordinary priests, we entered the most famous Basilica in the world. Thus we passed up the great nave to the pavement in front of the Ikonostasis, and in our progress we noticed the presence of a few Franciscans who were obviously interested. The Archbishop of Bethlehem, together with our Bishops and priests, then descended the steep steps to the Grotto of the Nativity, where, in front of the Altar erected over the famous silver star, he chanted the Litany of welcome to pilgrims. The Fiery Cross was laid on the Silver Star, which marks the place where the Babe of Bethlehem was born, and after this the priests filed by and kissed the Silver Star, and after them the laity. This ceremony lasted for close on two hours and, while the laity were making their devotions, accompanied by Fr. Maurice Child and Archdeacon Waddy, I entered the Latin Church of St. Catharine, a large edifice in the 17th century style, with the object of renewing the acquaintance of the Superior of the Franciscan Convent whom I had met on several occasions during my previous visit to the Holy Land. Unfortunately, the Franciscans were in anything but a friendly mood. I spoke to one and then to another and at last to a third, and each appeared to be more angry : the Superior was *occupato*, he would be *occupato* one hour hence, at noon he would be *occupato*, at dinner, and so on. The *adieux* were cold and barely polite. Little did we then suspect it, but at that very moment angry and violent protests on

the telephone were being made to the Governor of Jerusalem and to the Latin Patriarch in Jerusalem. However, we could do no more, and therefore returned to the Basilica just in time to hear the Archimandrite Kyriakos, standing at the entrance of the Ikonostasis, deliver an address of welcome, to which the Bishop of Nassau made fitting reply. (The address will be found in the Appendix.)

After this we filed out of the Basilica into the courtyard bright with the midday sun, and here we sang such appropriate hymns as the *Adeste Fideles*, " Once in Royal David's city," the *Magnificat*, and then recited the Nicene Creed. But there was still one thing left for us to see—the wonderful view from the roof of the Convent of the little city and the fields of the shepherds. Far in the distance could be seen the blue mountains of Moab, and below them the Dead Sea. After many farewells and more salutations we drove back to Jerusalem in clouds of white dust, forgetting the discourtesy of the Latins, but full of enthusiasm for our Bethlehem hosts who had made the pilgrimage to this Holy Place such a living reality.

The Latins had been greatly intrigued about this pilgrimage from its inception, a well-known Cardinal had done much to prevent its fulfilment, the Latin Patriarch had written to the Governor of Jerusalem shortly before its arrival that he was doubtless aware of the coming of a Protestant pilgrimage, and that he (the Latin Patriarch) hoped that there would be no infringement of the *status quo :* to which the Governor made reply that he had not heard of a Protestant pilgrimage. but he knew that there would shortly arrive a pilgrimage of Anglicans, Later in the same day we heard that the Franciscans had hastened to acquaint Mgr. Barlassina, the Latin Patriarch, an ultramontane—and, as the Italians would say, *più papista del Papa*—by no means friendly to England, who at once sent a frenzied message to the Governor, to wit, that we had made a " ceremonial entry into the Basilica of Bethlehem," that our Bishops were clothed in pontifical garb, and that therefore there had been an infringement of the *status quo*, which to the Latin Patriarch is an article of almost equal importance to any in the *Credo*. Further, he requested that this " outrage " should not be repeated on our visit to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. We had this information direct from the Governor, who also told us that Mgr. Barlassina, when paying him a visit the next day, asked what reparation the Governor intended making for the *crime committed at Bethlehem.*

It may be of interest here to note that an inspired article from the pen of an English Roman Catholic priest, resident at the Latin Patriarchate, appeared in the *Tablet* of May 31st, accusing the leaders of the pilgrimage of deceit and chicanery. It was stated that we had intended making a solemn entry into the Church of the Holy Sepulchre *in pontifical vestments*, but owing to Latin protests we had changed our plans and visited the Basilica of the Holy Nativity at Bethlehem instead. The writer, a gentleman of some imagination, went on to say : " The time was carefully chosen. *It was the hour when the Franciscan fathers were at dinner*, and no one to oppose their ingress. . . . In the Grotto of the Nativity *a joint religious ceremony was held.*" (The italics are mine.) After what has been written above comment is needless.

One does not dine at 9.30 a.m., even in the East. The writer then becomes humorous, and this is the substance of his further remarks: "The Governor took decisive measures. He wrote to the head of the pilgrimage declaring such an act was an infringement of the *status quo*, and received from him an assurance that there would be no repetition of such an incident and that in the visit to the Holy Sepulchre no priestly or pontifical garments should be worn. This was a great blow (*sic*) to Anglican hopes. The spectacular was to count for a great deal and now that the crosier and mitre, the copes and 'convocation robes' had to be laid aside, what were they to do—what would the Greeks think if they went in ordinary clothes? Then, after discussing the matter until the late hours of the evening, it was decided to wear academic garments, but what a come-down!" . . . And so on, *ad lib*, in the same vein. The whole of this delightful story is, unfortunately for the reputation of this good priest, a tissue of falsehoods. The Governor took no "decisive measures," and did not write to the head or to any other member of the pilgrimage, nor did he even suggest that there had been any infringement of the *status quo*. The Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, hearing of the Latin Patriarch's frenzied excitement, wrote to the Bishop of Nassau and suggested that, for the sake of peace, it would be better to follow his example and to go to the Holy Sepulchre in cassock and gown as the priests had done at Bethlehem. Two members of the pilgrimage called on the Governor without invitation, expressed their surprise at the strong feeling shown in the matter, and assured him that the pilgrims intended to avoid controversy at all costs. Also they informed him that no "pontifical or priestly garments" had been worn, nor had there ever been any intention to do so—the rochet and chimere of the Bishops being their ordinary walking dress.

The next day had been specially reserved for the reception of the pilgrimage at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The lay pilgrims met in the courtyard and the two Bishops and all the priests walked in procession through the crowded streets. In view of the Latin protests the Bishops wore their scarlet academic robes over their purple cassocks, and the priests also donned academic habit as at Bethlehem. The courtyard was crowded, the purple and scarlet of the Bishops and the various hoods worn by the priests produced a veritable riot of colour, the bright burning of the Eastern sun bringing out the colour scheme to even greater effect. The Patriarch of Jerusalem, His Beatitude Damianos, was represented by the Archbishop of Jordan, and many Archimandrites and priests were also there to welcome us. The pilgrims were photographed with the Orthodox Clergy, and then we all entered the Holy Church prostrating ourselves before the Stone of Anointing. Many Franciscans were watching us both within and without the Church, but there was no opposition or disturbance of any kind.

The pilgrims had already forgotten, if, indeed, they had even heard of the protests of yesterday, and all with one heart and mind were yearning to kneel at Calvary and kiss the Holy Tomb. The numbers being too great for us all to go together, we broke into three parties, the first being conducted by the Archbishop of Jordan, the

second by Archdeacon Waddy, and the third by myself. Two addresses were given to the pilgrims by the Archimandrite Kyriakos (both of which will be found in the Appendix), the first at Calvary, and the second outside the Holy Sepulchre itself. Then we made our way into the blazing courtyard again, where we discovered a friendly Franciscan ready to photograph us (who later remarked that if the gorgeous garments worn by the prelates were academic he would prefer ecclesiastical robes as being less ornate), then, preceded by several Kvas, we marched to the Patriarchate, where a choir dressed in white and violet gaily sang in Greek to welcome us. His Beatitude Damianos, a stately and dignified prelate of 79 years of age, was waiting to receive us in the great Throne Room. The Bishops and priests gathered round him while he addressed us in Greek, a translation being rendered by the Archimandrite Kyriakos (this address will be found in the Appendix). Then, after prayer, the Bishop of Nassau declaimed our address which had been drawn up in London, a Greek copy had previously been given to the Patriarch. The Ikon of St. George, the pilgrims' gift, was then presented to the Patriarch, who promised that it should be placed somewhere in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

Each member of the pilgrimage filed past and was presented in turn to the Patriarch and received a souvenir book of views bound in olive wood. A few of us remained to lunch with His Beatitude, and were afterwards photographed with him in the garden of the Patriarchate.

The next day being Sunday, after hearing Mass in the Chapel of Abraham some pilgrims attended the Armenian Mass in the Holy Sepulchre celebrated by a Bishop in the presence of the Armenian Patriarch. Only a few yards distant the Copts were singing their Mass, and beyond them the Syrians, in their damp and gloomy little Chapel, were assisting at their simple and impressive Liturgy.

As a *beau geste*, and in order to show that we on our part had no mind for sectarian controversy, we requested the Anglican Bishop to ask the Latin Patriarch to receive us. To this Mgr. Barlassina agreed and so at 10 o'clock we went to pay a formal call, Bishops and priests vested as they had been on the visit to Bethlehem. At the Patriarchate the Kvas met us and escorted us to the Throne Room, where Mgr. Barlassina received us graciously, for Italians rarely, if indeed ever, forget their manners. Our President spoke of the objects of our pilgrimage, adding that we neither claimed nor demanded any rights and privileges in the Holy Places, but were thankful to accept what was offered us. In reply, Mgr. Barlassina made an indirect reference to his recent protest, and not quite tactfully criticized what he called the superstition of some of the Greek ceremonies. Controversial matters were then carefully avoided, the Latin Patriarch addressed the Bishops as " Monsignore " and the priests as " Father," but when asked to give his blessing replied, " Our Lord will bless you," and to the prelates, " We do not bless Bishops." However, he was quite courteous and sent a Latin priest and a Kvas to accompany us all the way back to the hotel.

The priest who wrote the article in the *Tablet* already referred to, stated that we " made an apology " for the Bethlehem incident. As a matter of fact, we made no reference to the subject. The same

Leaving Victoria

Visiting the Coptic Church; Alexandria

Mass at Tiberias

At the Metropolite / Nazareth

Archbp of Jordan & Bp of Nassau

We are indebted to Sir Henry Lunn, Ltd., and to some of the pilgrims for use of the photographs.

priest that evening preached in one of the Convent Churches on " The English schism."

The High Mass at St. George's was at 11 a.m., and therefore we had not much time to spare, and, to make things worse, the great Moslem feast of Nebi Musâ, which was in full swing, greatly impeded our exit from the city. Just within the Jaffa Gate there was an amazing scene of wild dancing by Dervishes, and many of the Moslem pilgrims were brandishing swords. These are the people who form the great majority of the population of Palestine, over 500,000 in number, while the Christians do not exceed 65,000. One would have thought that the Latins might have employed their time better than in squabbling over the *status quo*, unless, indeed, they have lost all Apostolic fervour and regard the conversion of Moslems as hopeless! Thus did the Jews wrangle amongst themselves in A.D. 60, when Titus and his army were encamped around the Holy City.

The Bishop of Nassau was both celebrant and preacher at the High Mass at St. George's at which nearly all the pilgrims were present and many others including Sir Gilbert Clayton and Sir Ronald Storrs. The collection was given to the Jerusalem and East Mission Fund. In the late afternoon many pilgrims attended solemn evensong with sermon preached by the Rev. A. E. Cornibeer, vicar of St. John's, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and others made their first visit to Jericho, Jordan and the Dead Sea.

The following morning the President, together with the committee and other clerical members of the pilgrimage, paid a series of ceremonial visits, all of which had been arranged by Bishop MacInnes, who kindly sent a Syrian interpreter and his Kvas to conduct us. This latter was gaily dressed, and preceded us, beating silver staff upon the ground, sometimes using it to make way for us through the crowded streets. Our first call was on the Armenian Patriarch, who awaited us in the great saloon of the Patriarchate. Four years ago I had several conversations with the Vice-Patriarch Yighiche Tchilinguirian, there being no Patriarch at that time, who told me that at one time a large number of priests had been attached to the Convent, but so many were murdered during the war that only 15 then remained. He talked much about the Armenian Church, claiming it to be the most primitive of all Christian Churches, accepting no addition to the Faith after the Council of Constantinople. Also, it was the most liberal, for it accepted as Catholics the Greek and other Orthodox Churches of the East, the Latins and also the Anglicans. The charge made against the Armenians that they were still guilty of the Monophysite heresy was untrue, for they believed in the two natures of Christ united in one Person, and, as a matter of fact, the Church solemnly anathematised this heresy every year before Lent.

Accompanied by the priests of the Patriarchate, we visited the Church of St. James, the most beautiful church in Jerusalem, said to have been built on the spot of the martyrdom of the Saint. The interior is richly decorated with ivory and mother-of-pearl, the floor being covered with magnificent carpets. We venerated the tomb of St. James whose shrine is approached through priceless doors richly

inlaid with tortoise-shell and nacre. In the porch of the church are some curious bronze and wooden gongs of very ancient type, used to call the faithful to prayer. These are reminders of the terms of the treaty made with Christians when, in 637 A.D., Jerusalem surrendered to the Khalif Omar. The terms forbade Christians the use of bells outside their churches, but gongs were permitted. There is a style about all Armenian things, from their architecture to the conical head-dress of the clergy, representing, it is said, the cone of Mount Ararat, and a quaint mingling of ancient and modern. This is also evident in their services where Latin customs mingle with Greek, possibly because in their unfortunate history they have been exiled to so many different lands.

Our next visit was to the Syrian-Jacobites, or West Syrians, as they are sometimes called. We were conducted down a lane past the ruined building known as the Church of St. Thomas of the Germans, during the Crusades there was a "street of the Germans" where a hospital was founded in 1128 for the German pilgrims. The staff of this hospital formed the beginning of the Order of the Teutonic Knights during the siege of Acre in 1191. The Syrian Convent is close to the ruins of St. Thomas, and here the Syrian Bishop resides. At the entrance to the courtyard this prelate met us and we were led to the small saloon while Syrian boys chanted lustily a hymn of welcome. After some interesting conversation, which was made all the more easy by the presence of some Syrian youths belonging to St. George's, we visited the little church built on the traditional site of the house of Mary the Mother of John, whose surname was Mark. In the church there is a remarkable Madonna which the Syrians affirm was painted by St. Luke.

Thence to the Coptic Monastery, where the Abbot greeted us in a large and cool saloon. Conversation was not easy, but there was one priest who understood and spoke a little English. The Abbot was much pleased at our visit, and we on our side were glad to show our sympathy with him and his flock after the unchristian treatment recently meted out to them by the Latins in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Abbot had only recently been appointed, indeed since the Latin attack, and had made haste to call on the Latin Patriarch to see if it were possible to improve their relationship. The latter had not troubled to return or even acknowledge the Abbot's visit. Oh! for five minutes of St. Francis! One can imagine the kind of penance he would inflict on those who call themselves after his sweet name, and how he, the little poor man of Assisi, would have embraced the Coptic Abbot.

The morning quickly passed, and our Kvas was getting somewhat weary; but there was still one more call to pay, namely, on those tropical brethren of ours, the Abyssinians. Charming people and picturesque! The Abbot, who received us with a gesture of benevolence and good nature, was accompanied by a quaintly-costumed priest clothed chiefly in skins, who not infrequently went to sleep during the interview. We were told that he was a missionary who went everywhere preaching the Gospel. Here conversation was indeed difficult, but our President always indefatigable in spite of difficulties, plunged into an abstruse theological discussion on the Œcumenical Councils. But

the Abbot did manage to make us understand his very strong and whole-hearted desire for Re-union, which was just what we wanted to hear. Four years ago I attended the Abyssinian Easter Service, a ceremony which I shall always remember. It was held in their courtyard on the Dome of the Chapel of St. Helena, a spot that figures in many paintings and sketches. There they had erected a tent, at the entrance of which men were beating drums. Inside the tent was the Abbot with his priests all dressed in gorgeous array, and after a while they came out in procession. Very slowly they moved, or, to be more correct, swayed from side to side, singing the quaintest of tunes. Three times they perambulated the Dome, symbolically searching for the Body of Christ, but unable to discover where It was laid. The procession then returned to the tent and finished the service within.

On our way home through the crowded streets of the Christian quarter most of the bazaar sellers rose to their feet saluted our President and asked his blessing.

The Dominicans in Jerusalem give much help to those who wish to learn more about the ancient sites of historical, religious, or archæological importance. In this way I got to know several members of the Order during my previous visit, especially Père Vincent, a man of great learning and with a knowledge of Jerusalem and its monuments probably unequalled in the city. The Bishop of Nassau and I paid this famous Dominican an unofficial visit and had a long and interesting talk with him. Père Vincent had no use whatever for controversy, being a man of much breadth of mind, and spoke mainly on Biblical criticism. The only controversial subject discussed was the site of the martyrdom of St. Stephen. According to the Franciscans, and also to the Orthodox Church, the little Chapel close to the Gate of St. Stephen marks the spot where St. Stephen was stoned. The Dominicans, on the other hand, claim that the martyrdom took place on the site now occupied by the modern Church of St. Stephen, and in the fifth century by a Basilica built by the Empress Eudocia.

We next paid a visit to Notre Dame de France, the Convent of the Assumptionists, the most imposing modern building outside the city walls, built originally for the great concourse of pilgrims from France that visited Jerusalem twice a year up to the beginning of the late war. This hostel I made my headquarters four years ago, and one can live there quite peaceably and not worried by persistent controversy. Amongst other visits that afternoon we called at the monastery of St. Salvatore, the headquarters of the Franciscans. Unfortunately, the Guardiano was absent, but we were received by an old friend of mine, Père Ananie, who had shown me much courtesy on a previous occasion. We discussed with him the recent trouble between the Copts and the Latins, and suggested that the Latin Patriarch might have made a *beau geste* by returning the call of the new Coptic Abbot, without doing anything derogatory to his dignity. But the good padre could not see it in that light; the Copts were in the wrong, they were only tolerated in the Holy Sepulchre and must be made to keep their place. Once again the spirit of the *imperium Romanum!*

The Convent of St. Salvatore is an ancient building acquired by the

Franciscans after their expulsion from the Cœnaculum. It contains a library, museum, orphanage and various shops, including a printing office. The parish church of St. Salvatore adjoins it and is attended by European and Arab Christians of the Latin rite.

On Tuesday the pilgrims having finished most of their corporate visits in Jerusalem, began to split up into smaller parties and make pilgrimages to various places outside the city, such as the famous Greek convent of Mar Saba, Ain Karim the birth-place of the Baptist, Jericho and the valley of Jordan.

We were obliged to divide into three parties for the pilgrimage to Nazareth and Galilee owing to the difficulties of accommodation. The first party left for Nazareth on Tuesday morning and was escorted by the Bishop of Nassau and the other five members of the committee. A visit was paid *en route* to Jacob's Well at Sychar, known as Bir Samariyeh or the Well of the Samaritan Woman. Here the Greeks are rebuilding an ancient Basilica over the Well, but at the present time are held up owing to lack of funds. As the American Church is raising money towards the restoration of the Church of the Tomb of the Virgin in the valley of Jehoshaphat, it would surely be a graceful action on the part of the Anglican Church to be responsible for the completion of the Church at Sychar. The Well, like Joseph's tomb close by, is held in veneration by Jew and Samaritan, Christian and Moslem, for its authenticity rests on unbroken tradition. Passing between the famous Mounts of Ebal and Gerizim we reached Nablous, the ancient Shechem, where the few remaining Samaritans dwell, numbering not more than one hundred and sixty. Hurrying through the spacious valley of Esdraelon, some twenty-four miles long, with splendid views of Mount Hermon and Mount Gilboah, we arrived about midday at Nazareth, where we found an Archimandrite from the Metropolite waiting to welcome us.

After lunch, having donned our ceremonial habits, and conducted by the Archimandrite, we set out for the Greek Church of the Annunciation, where Cleopas, Metropolitan of Nazareth, greeted us. Introductions having been made, the Metropolitan invited the Bishop of Nassau to read from the Gospel of St. Luke the story of the Annunciation, and then asked him to give his blessing. A visit followed to the Virgin's Spring, from which water was drawn for the pilgrims to drink. Then we were conducted to the Metropolite, where our president gave an extempore address, and in his reply Mgr. Cleopas testified to his great yearning for reunion with the Anglican Church.

Later in the afternoon we drove to the village of Cana of Galilee, where the Greek priests and most of their parishioners came out to greet us and the bells rang out merrily. The Greek Church is built on the traditional site of the "Marriage Feast," and our president was asked to read in English the Gospel story. The children crowded round us in a friendly manner and refused to be satisfied until one of us had photographed the group. Then we drove down the steep hill through the plain of Sharon of Galilee, passing the Qoroun Hattin, where the Crusaders made their last stand, claimed by many authorities to be the Mount of the Beatitudes, to Tiberias some 600 feet below the level

of the Mediterranean, with a climate tropical in comparison with that of Jerusalem. How changed are the surroundings of that wonderful lake! There are scarcely any boats, only a few fishermen, no villages or towns other than Tiberias, and no people to crowd its shores. To-day Tiberias itself is a gay little place, wholely devoid of Christian atmosphere. About two miles from Tiberias there is a collection of hovels known as the village of El Mejdel, with the ruins of an enclosing wall and the fragments of two towers. This is the ancient Magdala, the birthplace of Mary Magdalene. Its present aspect is fitly described in the words of Sir Edwin Arnold: "Desolate most of all, with one starved palm, and huddle of sad, squalid hovels, thou El-Mejdel!" On the top of a small but very steep hill overlooking the lake, and not far from Magdala, Mass was said the next morning at 7 a.m. The arrangements had been made by one of the devoted laymen from St. George's Cathedral, and it could not have been possible to choose a more beautiful or more fitting site. The pilgrims knelt or stood near the temporary altar, and about forty of them made their Communions. The sun was already high in the heavens and burnt us fiercely, so we recommended those in charge of the next group of pilgrims to have Mass at an earlier hour. For three successive days Mass was celebrated in the open air, and many of the pilgrims would, I think, agree that this was the most thrilling episode of the pilgrimage. Later in the morning the pilgrims, some by the boat and others in cars, proceeded to Capernaum and visited the ruins of the ancient synagogue, the Franciscan in charge showing us the most recent excavations, which included a mosaic floor said to have belonged to the house of Peter's wife's mother, where, in later days, a small church had been built in honour of the chief of the Apostles. On returning to Nazareth, the Chaplain of the C.M.S. Church met us and invited the pilgrims to evensong. The next morning the Bishop of Nassau, who had been the guest of the Metropolitan Cleopas, said Mass in the Chapel of the Metropolite, wearing Greek vestments. Leavened bread was used, and Holy Communion given by intinction. On the next two mornings Mass was said in this Chapel by the Bishop of Nebraska and Fr. Fynes-Clinton respectively, much to the gratification of the charming and courteous Metropolitan.

On the evening of our return to Jerusalem, again by the courtesy of Sir Henry Lunn, a dinner was given by the committee at the New Grand Hotel to the heads of the local churches, and I treasure the *Menu* which contains the signatures of those who were present. The Governor of Jerusalem gave us much help by sending out the invitations and also by arranging the position of the guests, a very delicate matter in the East. There were present: The Bishop of Nassau, in the chair, the Armenian Patriarch (His Beatitude Elisee Tourian), Dr. MacInnes, Anglican Bishop; Timotheos, Archbishop of Jordan, representing the Patriarch; the Abyssinian Abbot with a priest; the Coptic Abbot with a priest; the Syrian Bishop with his chaplain; the Armenian Vardapet M. Israelian; The Governor of Jerusalem; Archdeacon Waddy; The Reverend J. E. Hanauer of the C.M.S.; the Reverend Malcolm Maxwell of the London Jews' Society; The Reverend Saleh Saba of St. Paul's Arabic Church; the Reverends Dr. Danby, Philip Usher, Mr.

Phythian Adams and other representatives of St. George's Cathedral. The pilgrims were represented by their President, Fr. Millard, C.R., Colonel Fergusson (representing Sir Henry Lunn), Mr. Sidney Dark, the Rev. C. Beaufort Moss (who read an address in Greek to the Patriarch from the Archbishop of Dublin), the Revs. F. H. Hawkins, Maurice Child, R. C. Wainwright, H. Whitby, S. G. R. Murray, G. Napier Whittingham, Mr. S. Gurney and others. We were sorry not to have the Reverend H. J. Fynes-Clinton and the Bishop of Nebraska with us, but they had not yet returned from Galilee. Some interesting speeches were made, and one may safely assume that all the thirty-four guests at the banquet felt that they had been present at an historic occasion.

The following day the pilgrims still in Jerusalem (for many were at this time in Galilee and others were taking the last opportunity of a visit to the Jordan valley) were officially received by Sir Herbert Samuel, the High Commissioner whose residence is on the top of Mount Scopus. This massive building, which disfigures the beautiful Mount, was constructed as a German hospice by the former Emperor of Germany whose painting in the robes of Charlemagne figures prominently in the private chapel no longer used. The gardens are very beautiful, and from the windows of the Residency one obtains a superb view of the Jordan and the Dead Sea. On the return journey a halt was made at the British Military Cemetery, on Mt. Scopus. We found the graves of the last Crusaders carefully tended and no distinction made between officers and men in the ranks. At present the graves still have little wooden crosses, but the regulation stone crosses had just arrived and will shortly be put into position. The pilgrims gathered round the Bishop of Nassau as he conducted a short service of prayer for the departed, the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem was present and other priests and laymen connected with St. George's Cathedral. On returning to Jerusalem several of the pilgrims found their way to the Wall of Wailing, a collection of old Jewish blocks of stone pieced together into a wall near the Dome of the Rock. Here we saw many Jews assembled to pray and to lament, as is their custom week by week, on the eve of the Sabbath. This custom seems to have been followed since the time of Constantine, when Jews were allowed to weep at this wall once a year, and it is ever regarded by them as a place of prayer and tears. The Jews of to-day, however, do not only wail for their lost Temple, but also offer petitions sent them by co-religionists from other countries. It may be added that the Zionists do not altogether approve of this weekly exhibition of lamentation, for their aim is not to rebuild the Temple but to make Palestine a prosperous and commercial land wherein Jews will once again predominate.

On the Saturday morning all the pilgrims in Jerusalem met in St. George's Cathedral at 7 a.m. for Corporate Communion which was administered to them by the Anglican Bishop, assisted by Archdeacon Waddy, the Revs. Dr. Danby and Philip Usher, the collections being given to the work of the Anglican Church in Palestine. On this evening and not for the first time, Archdeacon Waddy conducted a devotional "walk" to the Garden of Gethsemane. Starting from the Cœnaculum on Mt. Zion, thence down to Mt. Ophel, following a rough

and stony descent to the Pool of Siloam, the pilgrims crossed the brook Cedron, skirted the Egyptian remains by the village of Silöe, upon which our Lord must often have gazed, and then for a few paces along the Bethany Road which leads to the sacred Garden. Here, in the moonlight, they knelt and prayed in silence without hindrance or interruption. It is sad to relate that the Franciscans have recently built a large and peculiarly ugly church which completely destroys the beauty of the quiet little garden as one remembers it of old. It was being finished hastily in time for its consecration by the Papal Legate, Cardinal Giorgi, who was coming to Jerusalem for that purpose. As the Pro-Jerusalem Society has done so much to hinder further disfigurement of the Mount of Olives, it is a pity that its power did not extend to this grotesque act of vandalism.

On the last Sunday in Jerusalem the pilgrims met in a field adjacent to the Cathedral and thence walked in procession, headed by the Fiery Cross. The procession was most imposing, and the vestments of the Bishop and Clergy shone out bravely in the brilliant sunshine. Nearly all the pilgrims took part in it, and were accompanied by the Vardapet Israelian, representing the Armenian Patriarch, Sir Gilbert Clayton, Colonial Secretary to the High Commissioner, the Governor of Jerusalem and the Cathedral Clergy. High Mass followed, the sermon being preached by Archdeacon Waddy, who made a direct appeal to the pilgrims to support the work of the Church in Palestine. At the conclusion of the service Sir Ronald Storrs addressed the pilgrims on behalf of the " Pro-Jerusalem Society," explaining its excellent work in preventing vandalism within and without the Holy City, and, for example, he instanced the desire of a syndicate to run an electric tramway up the Mount of Olives and also along the road from Bethany to the Jordan !

In the afternoon a small party of us went to Hebron, one of the most ancient cities in the world, and as I had been debarred from going there on my previous visit owing to military exigencies, I was most anxious to visit it this time. The Governor of Jerusalem provided us with passes, which should have given us the *entrée* not only to this ancient city of Judah, but also to the Mosque, wherein are buried—in the Cave of Macpelah—Abraham and Sarah. The entrance to the Mosque was surrounded by the usual " stage " crowd, and our " passes " read by all and sundry. The Sheikh, who is supposed to countersign these documents, was away from home, and therefore, after arguments somewhat lengthy and unintelligible, we who pay taxes for the upkeep of this country were refused entrance. From every point of view this was an unfortunate *contretemps*. The inhabitants of Hebron are not friendly to non-Moslems at any time, and doubtless they were glad of any excuse to snub us. Our feelings were somewhat relieved on receiving, later, a very polite message from the Governor of Jerusalem to the effect that he was " gravely distressed to hear what happened to the distinguished visitors for whom I obtained the special passes from the supreme Moslem Council to visit the Mosque at Hebron. I have sent for the Acting President of the Council and requested an immediate explanation, together with exemplary punishment of the responsible functionary."

Most of the important official residents in Jerusalem gave farewell dinners on the Sunday night and on the next day the pilgrims split up into three groups—one going by rail to Cairo to pay an official visit to the Coptic Patriarch, the second to present an address to His Beatitude Gregorios, Patriarch of Antioch, and the third remaining one day longer in Jerusalem and then sailing from Jaffa to meet the first group at Alexandria. Just before the first party left for Cairo a Kvas arrived from the Greek Patriarchate with a gift to the President of the pilgrimage of a very beautiful pastoral staff made of ebony, silver and mother-of-pearl. The staff is of the style used in the Greek Church, surmounted with two serpents with a cross between them and of Bethlehem workmanship.

Before our departure from Jerusalem the committee presented the sum of £E100 to the Greek Patriarchate, £E50 to the Metropolitan of Nazareth and £E115 for the relief of the Arab Orthodox Clergy working in Palestine, these sums having been given by the pilgrims during the voyage from Marseilles to Jaffa. The pilgrims also made substantial gifts in money and kind to the Anglican Church in Jerusalem and St. George's Hostel, and in this they were greatly helped by two very generous donations from Sir Henry Lunn.

This article would not be complete without some account of the Missions to the Patriarch of Antioch and the Coptic Patriarch of Cairo. As regards the first, I cannot do better than give the story in the words of Fr. Frere and Fr. Moss, who were in charge of this special Mission.

The Reverend H. C. Frere writes :—

" On Monday, May 19th, I drove with an interpreter, Mr. Yusepteen, to the Patriarchate and met with a most kindly and friendly welcome from the Patriarch. I explained that I was one of a party of Anglican pilgrims visiting the Holy Land and that the rest were expected shortly. I was greatly surprised to hear that His Beatitude had not heard anything about the Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage or the receptions at Alexandria or in Jerusalem, or that any of the pilgrims would be visiting Damascus ; so, in consequence, he had made no arrangements for our reception, but at my request he promised to receive the pilgrims officially later on. On Wednesday, May 21st, I called at the British Consulate and arranged with the interpreter to hold himself in readiness to accompany the pilgrims when visiting the Patriarchate. On the same day I saw Mr. Shamiyeh, the proprietor of the Palace Hotel, a Greek Orthodox, and drove with him to the Patriarchate and saw the Bishop of the Hourân, and arranged with the latter for the use of the small church at the Patriarchate for our early Masses. The Bishop also showed me a telegram received yesterday from Bishop MacInnes asking the Patriarch to receive the pilgrims. Later in the afternoon the Patriarch returned my call, accompanied by the Bishop of the Hourân and paid a long visit ; his attitude was most friendly and genial. On Thursday, May 22nd, the pilgrims having arrived the night before, Mass was said by the Rev. C. B. Moss, of St. Bartholomew's, Dublin, in the Greek Orthodox Church of St. Catherine at the Patriarchate at 7.30 a.m. Most of the pilgrims attended, together with the Bishop of the Hourân

and other Orthodox priests and laymen, and the alms collected at the offertory were handed to the Bishop for his poor. At 9.30 a.m. the pilgrims assembled at the Patriarchate and received a special mark of welcome by the Patriarch advancing to meet them at the door, and not, as in ordinary circumstances, coming in to receive them after their arrival. An address had been drawn up by the Rev. H. J. Fynes-Clinton, and an Arabic translation had been handed to the Patriarch earlier in the morning. The address was now read in English and the Patriarch made a brief reply to the effect that he had had no time to prepare an answer, so he only confined himself to expressions of warm and hearty welcome and of great friendliness to the Anglican Church. At the conclusion of the reception, which lasted some time, the Patriarch gave us his blessing and then conducted us to the Greek Church of St. Mark, a most beautiful building, richly ornamented. Thence we proceeded to our motors, the Patriarch again showing us great honour by accompanying us to the entrance gate. Before leaving I told the Bishop of the Hourân that if the Patriarch would send a reply in writing I would forward it to the Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage Committee. The Patriarch was anxious to pay the pilgrims a return visit if it could be arranged on British soil, so I was able to make arrangements with Mr. Smart, the Consul, and consequently we were privileged to receive the Patriarch at the Consulate at 4 p.m. His Beatitude stayed with us an hour and it was altogether a most delightful gathering, the Patriarch's affectionate attitude, together with his unaffected geniality, winning all our hearts. In the course of the conversation His Beatitude remarked that he had taken the pilgrims to his heart as friends, owing to the friendly action of Bishop Blyth with regard to the Orthodox in his diocese of Beirût and the Lebanon in 1902, in which work I had the great privilege of being closely associated."

The story is then continued by the Reverend C. B. Moss :

"On Friday, May 23rd, Fr. Frere had left us for Beirût, and on Saturday we went to Baalbec, arriving in the afternoon. The Patriarch of Antioch had given us a letter to a Mr. Joseph Tabaa, and he at once came round to see us and took us to the Orthodox Church. As this was used as a granary by the Turks during the War it was quite unfit for use. Under these circumstances Mr. Tabaa offered to let us say our Mass in his house, and we gratefully accepted the offer. On Sunday, May 25th, I said Mass at 7.30, we were lent ikons of the Crucifixion, our Lady and Child, and St. George, which were placed on the temporary altar. All the pilgrims, and I should say most of the local Orthodox, were present. In a conversation which I had with some of the laymen after Mass they told me they greatly approved of our service, which, they said, was in all essentials the same as their own, and they greatly appreciated its simplicity. They asked me whether we believed in Confession, and whether all those who had communicated had confessed. I explained to him that we were not obliged to make our Confessions before each Communion, but that we had all done so before Easter, and that many were accustomed to do so once a month. They then discussed the difference between our method of making the sign of the

Cross and their own, and said that in making the sign three fingers were used for the Holy Trinity, the two remaining fingers signifying our Lord's two Natures. They also asked about our bread, and I said that we were allowed to use either kind of bread, but that we found wafers the more practical of the two. After breakfast we were shown over the magnificent ruins of Baalbec by Professor Alouf, the proprietor of the Grand Palmyra Hotel, where we were staying. Besides the ruined Orthodox Church there are two other Churches in Baalbec, Greek Uniat and Maronite, both in communion with Rome, but the former in outward expression was almost exactly similar to an Orthodox Church, the latter indistinguishable from a Latin Church, though, of course, with a different rite. All three Churches were used for military purposes by the Turks during the War.

"Two-thirds of the population of Baalbec are Moslems. We said Evensong in our hotel, and most of the Orthodox who had been at our Mass in the morning attended, and I gave an address on the work of the Anglican and Eastern Association, and Mr. Shariyeh joined the Association, giving me his first subscription.

"Both he and the other laymen with whom I talked at Baalbec expressed a strong desire for reunion with us, and were convinced that we held the same faith in all essentials.

"On Monday we left Baalbec early and travelled to Beirût through the magnificent scenery of the Lebanon. We reached Beirût at four and went straight on board the *Lotus*, so we were unable to be received by Gerasimus, Bishop of Beirût, as there was no time for a reception. The captain and purser very kindly arranged for us to have the use of a large room for Mass every morning, and on board ship we found a very interesting companion, namely, the Coptic Archbishop of Meria, who attended some of our Masses, of which he greatly approved."

For the account of the visit to the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria I am indebted to the correspondent of the *Church Times* (May 30th, 1924):

"On Wednesday morning we visited the Coptic Patriarch, who is nearly 100 years old, and has ruled for 50 years. He received us in a large outer saloon and led us to a smaller one where our Bishop read his address to him. (A copy of this will be found in the Appendix.) Although there was a complete lack of the cordiality which we had experienced from every other Eastern headquarters, we were amicably received. The Copts are in a difficult position and do not wish to appear too friendly to anything English. They have thrown themselves with enthusiasm into the nationalistic movement and are hand-in-glove with the Moslems. . . . In reply to the address the senior Coptic priest present, interpreted by the Rev. Maurice Richmond, welcomed us in the name of the Patriarch, 'who sits on the throne of St. Mark, exercising jurisdiction over Africa and Asia,' and said that the Copts also prayed for Reunion and wished to work in co-operation with the other Churches. This was in every way satisfactory, for such a statement has probably not before been heard at their headquarters, and, as it were, from the lips of the Patriarch himself. After the Patriarchal blessing we withdrew from the saloon and wended our way to the church.

. . . In the late afternoon the Anglican Archdeacon in Egypt arranged a united service for the pilgrims and his own people at All Saints' Pro-Cathedral. A number of priests were present together with the Archbishop of Sinai, an autocephalous prelate who appears to prefer the joys of Cairo for a season to the rigours of his desert peninsular. The Bishop of Nassau, owing to indisposition, was unable to preach, and his place was taken by the Rev. H. J. Eynes-Clinton.

The third group of pilgrims returned as they arrived, *viâ* Jaffa, meeting the first party at Alexandria. We were fortunate enough to find that His Holiness Photios had returned to his Patriarchal City and therefore was able to receive us in person on this occasion and grant us a gracious reply to our address. This will be found in the Appendix. Thus the Anglican Pilgrimage has visited three out of the four Eastern Patriarchates and been warmly welcomed and received at each. The ship in which we returned was considerably smaller and older than our out-going boat, but once again we found both captain and purser most anxious to give us every assistance, and were we thus able to have two altars for our daily Masses and all went well. We reached London on the eve of the Ascension, in time to make our Communions of thanksgiving in our respective churches on the morrow, mindful of that little round church on the Mount of Olives, marking the place from which the Lord Christ ascended into Heaven.

The Pilgrimage was a great success from every point of view and a wonderful experience. Renan says somewhere, "The Holy Land is the fifth Gospel," and doubtless many of the pilgrims will regard it as such since they will have carried away with them memories which can never be quite obliterated: for those who have wandered in the little lanes of Nazareth, have sung *Adeste Fideles* at Bethlehem, have prayed in Gethsemane and knelt at Calvary can never again be quite the same.

Somehow I think that the Pilgrimage has done something to encourage and strengthen the difficult position of the Anglican Church in Palestine. Archdeacon Waddy has won a warm place in the hearts of the pilgrims for his work in guiding them round the Holy Places in Jerusalem, and for the assistance he gave us at Tiberias and elsewhere, and we gave him a resounding cheer when he bade us farewell on our departure from the Holy City.

The committee kept in close touch with Bishop MacInnes, often seeking his advice, and were anxious that the pilgrims should realise their responsibility towards the work of the Anglican Church in Palestine. The chief difficulty of a large pilgrimage is lack of accommodation. At this moment, so the manager of the chief bank in Jerusalem told me, Palestine is the most expensive country in the world; before the conquest it was one of the cheapest. The charges at hotels are exorbitant, and sanitary arrangements remain antiquated. The Latins have the largest hostels, which they naturally keep for Roman Catholic pilgrims; thus good hostels are greatly needed. St. George's Hostel is still in its infancy, but with some £500 spent on it could easily become a live and useful centre for Anglican Pilgrimages. Herein lies an

excellent opportunity for us all. The Anglican Church should certainly occupy a position in Jerusalem no less dignified than that held by the Armenian and Latin Churches, for it is not merely a Mission, but an integral part of the Church Catholic definitely planted in Palestine.

The Orthodox Church delighted to do us honour in Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth, not to mention Damascus and Alexandria. We can never forget their kindness and their gracious welcome, which made manifest their desire to come into closer relationship with us; indeed, one of the Archbishops expressed the hope that on the next pilgrimage our priests would be allowed to say Mass at any Greek altar.

Out of evil good ever comes. Intolerance is bringing together the separated Churches of the East, and it is making them look more than ever to Canterbury for support. The Anglican Church has indeed a great responsibility! One thing made itself abundantly clear: the Greek Orthodox Church is obviously the home of the Oriental Christian, and conversions to the Uniat Churches are generally for political reasons and because of powerful support from the Vatican. Jerusalem is the Mother of all the Churches; the Anglican Church has a very important part to play in the future and will be able to play it if Anglicans will only rouse themselves to a real sense of responsibility. Their part might well be that of the Good Samaritan, especially now that the *entente* between the two Churches has been so happily emphasised. Let me add, the name of "Randall Cantuar" is beloved by all Eastern Christians throughout the length and breadth of Palestine.

As, with the help of Fr. Maurice Child I had much to do with the work of preparation for this pilgrimage, I would like to emphasize some recent words of the Bishop of Nassau: "We do indeed hope to see a steady stream of Anglican pilgrims going year after year to the Holy Places of Palestine. We do need to strengthen the hands of the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem and rally to the support of the magnificent work of Reunion, a work which centres in the Anglican Cathedral of St. George; and we would indeed like, above all, to see an Anglican religious order planted in Galilee, to work hand in hand with the Metropolitan of Nazareth's little band of devoted priests for the conversion of Moslems and Jews returning to the Faith of Jesus of Nazareth." (Bishop of Nassau, *Church Times*, June 6th, 1924.)

What can one say about Jerusalem herself, whose name is the symbol of peace? Four years of playing the Zionist game has not made her a peaceful city. A variety of religions is far more likely to produce intolerance than a variety of political parties. Animosity between Moslems and Zionists is, if anything, more bitter than ever though it may be less conspicuous, as anyone not connected with the Government freely admits, and the majority of Palestinians appear to be in a constant state of nerves. In the equality of religions, in the equality of race, lies the only hope of a peaceful and happy Palestine. The Holy Land at this moment needs many things, but chiefly a change of heart, less intolerance and—an efficient system of irrigation. In no case must England desert her; above all, England's Church must pray for her.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME BY THE METROPOLITAN THEOPHANES, ARCHBISHOP OF TRIPOLI AND VICAR OF THE ORTHODOX GREEK PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA.

"Welcome to all of you, beloved brethren in Christ! This ancient Church of Alexandria, in welcoming you and the God-loving pilgrims who are with you, offers with much consolation a thanksgiving to our risen Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in that He has inspired your hearts with a desire to see the Holy Land which His Presence in human form has consecrated for ever; so that you have undertaken a long and tedious journey in order that you may see with your own eyes and offer a prayer to the infinite goodness in that place whence salvation has been poured upon all the earth, and wherein Christ our Lord was crucified for us, was buried, and rose from the dead.

"In extending to you a hearty send-off to those holy places and the city of God, this Holy Church of Alexandria glorifies God once more; for through His Grace is fulfilled the prophet saying: 'Who are these who fly like the clouds and like young pigeons, for their loving kindness will be accepted before the sanctuary of God, and through them will be glorified the House of the Lord, Who will reward their fervour!' Amen.

"Welcome again, my brethren in Christ! May the Lord shield and protect you! Amen."

ADDRESS OF WELCOME BY THE ARCHIMANDRITE KYRIAKOS AT BETHLEHEM.

"Your lordships, faithful Christian pilgrims! The Mother of Churches wishes to express deep joy and thankfulness to the Lord, in that she has been blessed by Him to receive your Graces and other noble children of a brave and high-minded nation, of mighty and glorious Great Britain, in this historic City of Judæa and in the very holy place of the Nativity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, round which, some nineteen centuries ago, was sung that sweet song of the Heavenly Host, 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will unto men.'

"And on this sacred place, where millions of people have worshipped on bended knee, the Son of God was made Incarnate for our salvation, the Mother Church greets you and welcomes you and offers up a fervent prayer to the Divine Founder of our Faith that He may shelter, protect, and strengthen you in the way of piety and moral perfection for the accomplishment of His Kingdom upon earth.

"May the Lord bless your comings in and your goings out of His Holy Place, and may His Holy Spirit rest and abide with you for ever and ever. Amen."

ADDRESS OF WELCOME BY THE ARCHIMANDRITE KYRIAKOS AT CALVARY.

"'Blessed be he that cometh in the Name of the Lord.' And may you, dear brethren, be also blessed: you who have braved the perils of a long and dangerous voyage, and arrived safely at last, coming in the Name of the Lord to this most holy and sacred church, built on the Faith which has been the salvation and redemption of humanity.

" The place on which we stand just now is the atoning Calvary. It is both sacred and holy. On this spot, nineteen hundred years ago, there was enacted the greatest of all dramas, that great climax in the life of our Lord which appals every human soul and far surpasses all human understanding. For ' God suffered for our sake,' to save us from the original sin. On this place the Lamb of God, by His expiatory death upon the Cross, cleansed the sin of the world, reconciled man to God, lifted him above his former state, and instilled within his soul the desire for greater and more worthy things. By His death He renewed the creature to the image of the Creator. On this very spot the Cross stood, and on that Cross Mercy and Truth met each other, and righteousness and peace were united in an everlasting bond purchased by the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.

" And God, in His great wisdom, has kept certain things to remind us of the terrible earthquake which took place when the Son of God was crucified. He has kept this very stone of Calvary, which was rent by the earthquake as a tangible proof of His love for us, a love so great that ' He gave His only begotten Son.' "

" And now, as we stand on this place where our crucified Saviour, covered with wounds and crowned with a crown of thorns, gave unsparingly of His precious Blood, let us borrow from His patience and courage in our sorrows. Let us gather strength each one of us to carry the cross of Faith without murmuring. Let us always remember the words of the apostle : ' Whosoever has been baptized in Christ has put on Christ.'

" Let us keep aloft the banner of His divine teaching and fill the whole world with the love for which He descended to earth.

" May we follow, therefore, the example of our Lord and His Saints and martyrs ; let us march with joy the way of the Cross, glorifying the Christ who opened to us the gates of the heavenly kingdom by His death upon Calvary ; and let us so live that, on the last day, when all shall be raised from the dead, we may be worthy to hear from His divine lips those cheering words which He uttered here so long ago, but which still hold their sacred promise : ' To-day thou shalt be with Me in Paradise.' "

ADDRESS OF WELCOME BY THE ARCHIMANDRITE KYRIAKOS AT THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

" DEAR BISHOPS AND PILGRIMS,

" At the dusk of the evening Joseph and Nicodemus receive the Body of Christ, taken down from the Cross and wrapped up in funeral clothes, carry it and put it in this death-bed, the Sepulchre which stands before our very eyes. How great Your generosity and all-mightiness, O Christ !

" The Mother of Churches is very glad indeed to welcome this day children of a sister Church, bearing with them all the elements of peace and love, which the risen-from-the-dead Christ bestowed upon earth.

" British pilgrims in assembly for long centuries did not visit the Holy Land, but to-day, when the wishes and hopes of the Church of

Zion have been fulfilled and the Holy Providence was pleased to put this holy dwelling on earth under the protection of a most Christian, righteous, generous and mighty power, as Magi from the East once, so do you also come to-day, brothers, a long way from the land of Christian civilization and progress, that you, too, may glorify with us and sing, as the shepherds, the Divine Founder of religion in all freedom and solemnity, and that you may respectfully offer the wish of piety to the Holy Places.

" Further, the Mother of Churches feels a sincere joy that the great God has rendered her worthy to receive you, dear brothers in Christ, in His most Holy Church, because in this welcoming is shown more strongly the reality of a good will and responsibility. The Mother of Churches greets the event as one of a special meaning and testifying to the friendly relations and good frame of mind of the two Holy Churches, Eastern and Anglican, to whom may the Divine initiator of humanity into a new spirit send the sooner the longed reunion.

" Now, brethren, with the fear of God, with faith and with love, let us enter this holy Sepulchre : let us bend the knees of the soul and of the body, and let us pray with compunction before the sacred Tomb in which lay the buried Body of our Saviour.

" Let us confess the wounds and sorrows of our souls to the entombed Christ, and ask with a real penitence that He may send upon us His grace which only can lighten and comfort the suffering and afflicted heart of man, and that, according to the Apostle, ' The God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of Glory, may give unto you the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of Him : the eyes of your understanding being enlightened ; that ye may know what is the hope of His calling.' —(Ephes. i, 17–18.) "

ADDRESS OF WELCOME BY HIS BEATITUDE DAMIANOS, PATRIARCH OF JERUSALEM.

" MOST REVEREND AND DEAR BRETHREN IN THE LORD JESUS CHRIST, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

" The event which has taken place to-day fills up our heart with joy and gladness. By the grace and providence of God we are fortunate, owing to our best relations with the representatives of the Anglican Church in this city, to receive as our pilgrims Anglican clergymen and laymen, and more especially distinguished personalities in the Anglican hierarchy and clergy. For the first time such an event takes place, and as much as we, and the Most Holy Church of Jerusalem, are glad, so much those who are in favour of the union of the Churches, whose number is increasing from day to day, can see a new and important progress towards the desire of union, and can hence receive new encouragement and inspiration for their God-pleasing work.

" We welcome you on behalf of the Most Holy Church of Jerusalem, and wish most heartily that you may accomplish this holy pilgrimage in good health and as you desire, and that it may strengthen your faith and enlighten your minds ; and pray that we may see more frequently such holy pilgrimages, in order to conduce more especially to the fulfil-

ment of the well-known prayer of our Saviour to the Father and God, which in fact, moves the heart of every true Christian. 'Holy Father, keep through Thine own Name those whom Thou hast given me, that they may be one, as we are.' Amen. (St. John xvii, 11.)"

ADDRESS TO HIS BEATITUDE CYRIL V., PATRIARCH OF THE COPTIC ORTHODOX CHURCH.

"We, Anglican pilgrims returning from the Holy Land in which our Lord Jesus Christ was born, spent the years of His earthly life, died upon the Cross for our salvation and rose again victorious from the dead, are grateful for the privilege now accorded to us of visiting your Beatitude.

"Both in Alexandria and Jerusalem we have already received many signal marks of kindness from the local heads of the Coptic Orthodox Church. To us Westerns it is a fresh inspiration to have been brought during these last weeks into such close and intimate relations with the great historic Churches of the East. And of these there is none which can make a stronger appeal to the imagination than the Church which has preserved in an unbroken continuity the ancient culture of the land of the Pharaohs. We rejoice to be able to pay our reverence to-day to a successor of the Evangelist St. Mark.

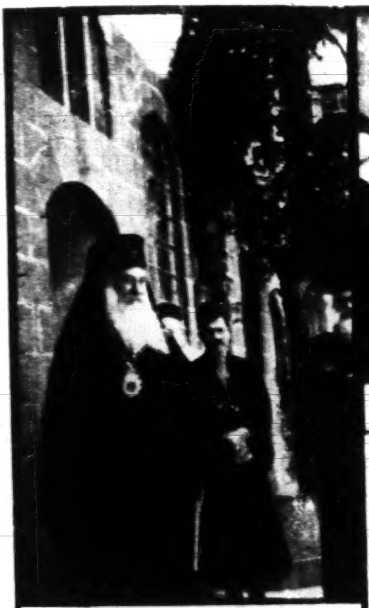
"In Jerusalem we had the honour of entertaining at our table, side by side with the representatives of the Patriarch Damianos, the Armenian Patriarch, the Syrian and the Anglican Bishops, the Abbots of the Coptic and the Abyssinian Churches. We found, to our joy, that all eagerly re-echoed our aspiration that the day might soon come when the divisions of Christendom should be healed and the Churches of Christ manifest the unity for which He prayed.

"As a national Church, like your own, it has never been, and never could be, our wish that members of your Communion should transfer their allegiance to ours, or that your order and worship should be assimilated to Anglican models, any more than that Anglicanism should adopt the customs of the East. We believe, rather, that in the re-united Christendom of our vision and prayers the amplest room will be found for every national characteristic and distinctive feature by which national Churches can best glorify the One Lord.

"In the meantime, if there is no active co-operation or service we can render, we wish to proffer all our sympathy to a Church which has, through the ages, maintained the Confession of the Faith.

"The learning of the Church of Egypt, as embodied in the writings of such great disciples of Christ and doctors of the Church as St. Athanasius and St. Cyril, is still treasured and studied in our own seminaries for religious learning. Therefore we salute with feelings moved and stirred with a loving brotherhood the venerable Patriarch, and the Bishops, Priests and faithful laity of the Coptic Orthodox Church.

"We have heard with joy of the life which is stirring in the Coptic Church and of the developments in the seminary for training candidates for the sacred ministry. We shall offer intercession with a new instancy



The Patriarch of Antioch

David Street Jerusalem

The Coptic Abbot of Jerusalem

The Chapel at Mar-Saba Palestine

At the Well of Nazareth

when we celebrate the Holy Mysteries that the One Father and the One Lord will evermore empower the Coptic Church for the great work and witness that lies before it."

ADDRESS TO HIS BEATITUDE, GREGORIUS, PATRIARCH OF THE HOLY ORTHODOX CHURCH OF ANTIOCH.

"We, priests and faithful lay people of Holy Church in communion with His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, have been led by Almighty God to accomplish our long-felt desire to come in united pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and there to adore and give thanks to our Most Blessed Lord, the Son of God, and Redeemer of the world, in the sacred shrines where he took flesh of the all-Holy and ever-Virgin Mother of God, where he lived amongst men and died for our salvation. We have venerated the Holy Sepulchre, the Rock from whence New life has sprung, and have worshipped where the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life, was poured forth in power upon the one Holy and Apostolic Church.

"And now, remembering how the sacred name of Christian was first given in the city of your Beatitude's throne, a name which we treasure in common with your flock and a name which your people have so nobly adorned in recent years by suffering and martyrdom for the sake of Christ, we come to pay our deepest and filial reverence to your Beatitude, occupant of the ancient and honoured Patriarchal See of Antioch and of the Apostolic Chair of St. Peter.

"Your throne, illustrious with the names of the great Apostle St. Paul, St. Ignatios, and the glories of its theological school, is no less honourable in our sight from the long scroll of unknown witnesses for the faith, who, through age-long oppression and in the days of the great war, have again sanctified the soil with their bloodshed for the faith of Christ.

"With profound sentiments of grief and shame that the Christian Powers of Europe have not yet, after so many centuries, intervened successfully to deliver all the Christians of the Eastern Churches from infidel tyranny, we beg now to tender to your Beatitude and to your children our deepest sympathy in the sorrows and losses that have afflicted you, and to assure you that our prayers and efforts will never be lacking for the protection and prosperity of all our Eastern brethren.

"But not only do we find comfort in the splendid examples of faithfulness unto death given us by this great cloud of witnesses as we run our common race toward the crown, but, troubled as we are within our own churches in the British Isles, in our dependencies and in America by difficulties in maintaining the Catholic faith of the Undivided Church, and struggling to restore in their fulness her ancient customs and traditions, we ever find strength and encouragement in the changeless and immovable witness of the Holy Orthodox Churches to the teachings of the Seven Œcumenical Councils and of the Holy Doctors.

"Recognising always that our task of bringing back our people to the fulness of faith and to more regular reception of the Mysteries of the

Church, which had been largely obscured though never lost amongst us since the time of the Reformation, depends upon our secure possession of the grace of the Priesthood transmitted by Apostolic succession from our Lord, a possession in which we have ourselves unswervingly believed, we have found great joy and support in the fact that a formal recognition has been given by the Œcumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, by the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and by the Autocephalous Church of Cyprus that Anglican ordinations possess the requisite marks of true Apostolic succession.

"We cannot but believe that the sense of possessing in common the holy priesthood bestowed by our Lord in His Church must facilitate further advance towards restoring between us the state of full intercommunion of the ancient Church interrupted by the Great Schism, and toward that full dogmatic agreement which we so greatly desire.

"Your Beatitude is well aware of the serious problems which confront not only the Orthodox hierarchy but also the Anglican Bishops in our Dominions and in the United States in the great influx of Christian immigrants from the East. Our Clergy is everywhere faced with the need of these people for spiritual ministrations, for teaching and for the Holy Sacraments, when, as so frequently happens, Orthodox priests cannot be supplied or are far away.

"It is always our aim to do all that is possible with the permission of the Orthodox authorities to meet their needs, while, at the same time, teaching them to remain faithful to their own Church. Under the direction of our Bishops and guided by the Lambeth Conference, much has been done, and we rejoice if we can in this way help to build up strong branches of the Orthodox Communion in the New World. The recognition of our priesthood is a most important step toward regularising that kind of Economic Intercommunion for those in need which is so necessary for the due sacramental life of these people, of whom a very large proportion are Syrians, and also for Anglicans sojourning in Orthodox countries.

"We speak of the restoration of ancient Intercommunion, for we would assure your Beatitude that there has never been any wilful or intentional act of separation on our part from the Holy Churches of the East. The division is rather the result of our being involved historically and unconsciously as part of the Western Church in consequence of the Great Schism.

"We desire to lay the greater stress upon the wonderful fact that Almighty God, the Spirit of Truth, has, in spite of so many centuries of mutual isolation, preserved so very large a basis of common adherence to the Faith once delivered to the saints, and interpreted by the Creeds and decrees of the seven holy Œcumenical Councils.

"Trusting, therefore, in your Beatitude's large-hearted and brotherly love, and in your wisdom drawn from the Mind of the Holy Church, which is the Spirit of Christ, we would ask your constant prayers for the Divine blessing upon our endeavours after reunion, which is one of the principal objects of our pilgrimage, and for your fatherly blessing upon all the pilgrims who have kissed the holy stones sanctified by the Precious Blood of the Divine Love."

REPLY OF THE PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA TO THE ANGLO-CATHOLIC PILGRIMAGE.

"HIGHLY HONOURED HIERARCHS AND DEVOUT PILGRIMS,

"The measure of the satisfaction with which our Holy Apostolic Church of Alexandria received you when, in your longing after Christ, you were on your journey from Great Britain to the Holy Land, is the measure of the gratification of spirit with which, as kept safe and sound by the Grace of God, you make your way back to your well-loved native land, we give you God-speed and render thanksgiving to Christ the Saviour Who has guided your steps.

"The brotherly sentiments of love and respect, manifested by you towards the Church of Alexandria, together with the evangelical thoughts and words in the valued address which you presented to us, have moved us deeply so that we are eager to give expression to our heartfelt thanks for your kindly disposition towards us and also to the appreciation which we cherish for your noble labours.

"We admire in you and in the Anglican system that spirit of Faith and of Evangelic Charity by which the totality of your nation has been led to the doctrine of the Gospel, and having been changed from being the implacable enemies of that doctrine into its faithful servants has been guarded out of the Darkness of Ignorance into the Light of Grace. We admire in you the truly enviable and God-loving zeal, the efforts, the labours, the witnessings, the blood-shedding of those blessed missionaries of yours, those glorious heroes of Christianity, the bones of whom scattered over the face of the earth fulfil the Glory of God, who have laboured for the enlightenment of Africa, Asia, Australia and all the peoples in them, 'who dwell in darkness and in the shadow of death.'

"We admire in you the fixity of faith with which and through which by help from above the peoples entrusted to you have been preserved for the most part from the most deadly snares of the Destroyer, of which the chief and the most perilous is that 'science so-called' of which St. Paul denounced the 'profane . . . babblings and oppositions' and 'which some professing have erred concerning the Faith' (1Tim. vi, 20–21).

"We admire in you furthermore that present noble labour by which you seek a return to the Truth in order that there may be realised that ideal for which we all long and pray, the full union in the life of the soul of all who make their boast in the Name of the Lord—'endeavouring' to establish and in the future to keep the 'unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace' (Ephes. iv, 3).

"That labour is sacred and dear to God, and to the limit of our mind and spirit we share it with you, praying daily 'the God and Father of All, who is above all and through all, and in you all,' to deal so with you and us, as His Divine Providence knows best, 'till we all come in the unity of faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God,' to 'the edifying of the body of Christ,' till One Spirit, one Faith, one Baptism shall prevail among all peoples. Amen.

"The Lord God bless you, and may the Risen Saviour prosper your undertakings."—PHOTIOS, POPE AND PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA.

10th May, 1924.

THE MODERN PAPACY AND THE REUNION OF THE ORTHODOX EAST WITH THE ROMAN CATHOLIC WEST.

[*We regret greatly the being obliged to hold over the latter part of this article to our next issue. Its genesis is as follows: Professor Glubokovsky contributed an article on "Papal Rome and the Orthodox East" to the "Christian East" of May, 1923. The attention attracted by that article, together with the distinction of the Professor, led to its being criticised in our first number of this year by Mgr. Batiffol, himself a writer on the Roman Catholic side of the highest authority and one of the Malines conversants. In doing so he referred to various writings of Bishop Gore, who himself replied in our June issue. We had secured a promise from Mr. Hakluyt Egerton that if Mgr. Batiffol replied again he would sum up the trilogy. His deeply regretted death renders that impossible, but we shall hope to publish the conclusion of Professor Glubokovsky's present article, together with the Monsignor's final remarks in our December number.*]

By Professor Nicholas Glubokovsky, D.D., Professor of the University of Sofia, Bulgaria.

I HAVE re-read my short article on "Papal Rome and the Orthodox East" which appeared in the *Christian East*, (Vol. IV, 4, pp. 180–6), together with the comments made upon it by Mgr. Batiffol's authoritative pen in the same magazine, Vol. V, 1, pp. 28–36.

I agree that, as the editor assumed without consulting me, it is incumbent upon me to deal with those comments and either to accept the Monsignor's corrections or to refute them.[1]

But before proceeding to fulfil this honourable duty, I should demur to the rôle which Mgr. Battiffol assigns me when he styles me his "contradicteur," and concludes that I "reproche" him and

[1] My article, "Orthodoxy in its Essence," printed in the *New York Constructive Quarterly* for June, 1913, pp. 282–325, in English, and in Russian in the *Petrograd Hristianskoe Chtenie* for 1914, No. 1, pp. 3–22, has also, for reasons which are not comprehensible to me, drawn the attention of Roman Catholic writers, *e.g.*, of Prof. Dr. Julius Gandgega in his Russian books, *Articles upon Questions Relating to Orthodoxy, Nationalism and Roman Catholicism*, 1921, and *Handbook for the Reunion of the Eastern and Western Churches*, 1922. Also, Fr. Michel d'Herbigny, the well-known director of the Pontifico Instituto Orientale of Rome—God knows why—has devoted considerable interest to it in his recent pamphlet, *La Vraie Notion d'Orthodoxie*, 1923, giving, indeed, both an abstract of it and a commentary upon it, for both of which I am honoured but with the latter of which I cannot help disagreeing, not only in detail but in essentials.

I take this occasion to dissipate the principal misrepresentation. Fr. d'Herbigny discovers in my article (p. 16) "un phantome d'Orthodoxie abstraite" with "la tendance à considérer l'Orthodoxie comme un être absolu, existant par lui-même indépendamment de l'Eglise," so that "d'après cette conception l'Orthodoxie existe par soi; elle préexiste à l'Eglise qui n'en est plus qu'un élément accidental comme la nation où elle s'incarne," p. 28. I am totally unable to imagine how Fr. d'Herbigny

even that I ascribe "my own ideas to him" (pp. 28 and 34). There is no ground for that. In fact, I had been asked by a third person to give an exposition of the Orthodox position parallel to Mgr. Batiffol's learned Catholic Commentary; and that I did. Naturally my exposition did not coincide with his own; for I gave the Orthodox interpretation of the facts—and certainly I do not appropriate to myself even such authority as Professor Adolf Harnack attributed to me in his review of my book *Beatus Theodoret*—the work of my young days. Also, I had nothing to do with the Malines Conversations, about which I learnt for the first time from the Christmas letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury, which greatly perplexed me, and on which I refrain from expressing an opinion since a sharp controversy is in process in England upon the subject.

Mgr. Batiffol writes: "Le jour où M. Glubokovsky découvrirait, comme Soloviev, que la *potestas* papale rentre dans l'*Order of the Œcumenical Councils*, ainsi qu'en témoigne le concile de Chalcédoine, la réunion du catholicisme oriental au catholicisme romain serait bien près de s'accomplir" (p. 36).

That prognostication has no possibility for me. If I could ever consider any such action, I should not only be mad but altogether unorthodox; for our Church does not accept the Papal Supremacy, and for her all dogmatic questions are decided by the Councils alone. If, therefore, I ever fall into the above error, I should not follow Vladimir Soloviev, who, in fact, did not leave any clear example at all, but one so perplexing that even his best friends still argue as to whether he died Orthodox or a Roman Catholic[1]—for he was buried according to the Orthodox Rite as an Orthodox, and it is therefore impossible to say whether he was a "Russian Newman," as he is extolled by the Roman Catholic, or was a "Russian Origen" as the Orthodox stigmatises him, less on account of his positive attain-

read such a meaning into my words, but I beg to assure him that he makes them contradict absolutely all the foundations of my Faith, and all the theological conclusions reached by my reason. That which he ascribes to me is more than a most malignant heresy. It is stark anti-Christian rationalism, and emanates from "the Spirit of Error," 1 St. John iv, 2–6. For me there can be no grace giving, saving Orthodoxy, except in the Orthodox Church, as there is no divine life-giving Christianity outside the Catholic Church, founded by our Lord Jesus Christ. With me that is an unalterable axiom and one which is not open to discussion and ought not to be misrepresented.

[1] EDITOR'S NOTE.—Soloviev should be regarded rather as having envisaged a new theory of the Church which was the product of his violent hatred of the Byzantine system established by Constantine, and which, while it found a place for the Papacy, was certainly in conflict with Roman Catholicism. Father Isvolsky of Brussels, formerly Ober-Prokuror of the Russian Holy Synod, informs me that on his death-bed at the house of Prince Troubetskoy, 30 miles or so from Moscow (though, if he had wished, he might have received the last rites from a Roman Catholic priest), Soloviev made his Confession to an Orthodox priest and received Absolution, Communion and Unction from him, according, of course, to the full Orthodox Rite.

ments than of his negative, more on account of his shortcomings than of his merits.

In like case, for my part, I should present my doubts and perplexities frankly and openly to my Church and should hold myself bound by her decision—unlike Count Leo Tolstoy who, though he had abused Orthodoxy more coarsely and insultingly than any heretic or any honest atheist, still desired to remain and to be styled a member of the Orthodox Church.

Writing as an ordinary Russian theologian and speaking for myself alone, I will offer a few further remarks—as briefly as possible since all the relevant facts are well known and there is always a danger that discussions such as these may resemble those confessional altercations at which only *tertius gaudet*, an entertainment which I would be loath to afford the common enemy at any time, and especially at this when assuredly we, whether Roman Catholic or Orthodox, ought not to be trying to destroy each other. Let the egoistic polemicist keep silence and let there reign only that love which, according to the apostle, 1 Cor., 6–7, "rejoiceth not in iniquity but rejoiceth in the truth, beareth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things."

I.

The subject of our mutual discussion is the strictly-limited statement put forth by Bishop Gore in *Catholicism and Roman Catholicism*, p. 23, ed. 1923: "In becoming separated from the Roman See in 1054, did the Eastern Church abandon anything concerning the authority of Peter as persisting in the Roman Church which had been at any period a part of its creed? The answer is a decisive No. The Catholic Christianity of the Greeks had acknowledged no such doctrine." In opposition to this Mgr. Batiffol states, in *Révue des Jeunes*, 10 avril, 1923, "Oui. Le Catholicisme grec a renié ce qu'il professait au temps du Concile de Chalcédoine." When my opinion was asked, I entirely agreed with the former and repudiated the latter with the consequence that, from being an arbiter I have become a principal respondent in the case. For my defence and for the general good I should wish to define, first of all, the subject, the nature and the extent of our disagreement.

What happened exactly at our so-called "separation" from Rome? When Pope Leo IX. sent his legates to Constantinople, he wrote to the Patriarch Michael Cerularios: "If there be any people anywhere in the world which arrogantly disagrees with the Roman Church, such people *non sit jam dicenda vel habenda ecclesia aliqua sed omnino nulla, quin potius conciliabulum hæreticorum et synagoga Satanae.*" Negotiations entered on in such a dangerous spirit had the only result that the Papal Legate laid their letter of

excommunication on the altar of St. Sophia on Saturday, July 16th, 1054, likened the Orthodox to various heretics (Simoniacs, Valezians, Arians, Nicolaites, Donatists, Severians, Manichees, Pneumatomachians . . .), and declared that "By the authority of the Holy and Indivisible Trinity *and* of that of the Apostolic See of which we are carrying out the *legatio*, by the authority of all the Orthodox Fathers of the Seven Œcumenical Councils and of the whole Catholic Church, we subscribe the anathema pronounced by our Lord the most Holy Pope upon Michael and his followers if they do not reform themselves, in this fashion: Anathema, maranatha, together with the Simoniacs, etc., and if they do not recant with all the heretics and with the devil and his angels, Amen, amen."

On the same ill-starred day the legates confirmed this curse in the presence of the Emperor and made a final statement of principle: "Let him who obstinately contradicts the Faith of the Holy Roman and Apostolic See and its Sacrifice be anathema, maranatha, and let him not be deemed a Catholic Christian but a heretic. *Sit, sit.*"

That is how the fatal breach between the Christian East and West occurred. Its chief significance is not the monstrous arrogance of the Papal Legates, about whom the Constantinople Council testified on the morrow that they came "Like a thunderstorm and hurricane or a famine, or rather, like wild boars, in order to dash down the Truth." Nor is it the awful intolerance and severity of the sentence which, in the opinion even of Roman Catholic *savants*, "has not a due moderation" (Prof. C. J. Hefele).

The formidable fact is that, usurping the divine authority over the whole Church, the Pope put himself on a level with the Holy Trinity and above the Œcumenical Councils which he himself had recognised.

That hierarchic self-exaltation cut the Papacy away from the whole Christian East and has become an impassable barrier of division between them.

Moreover, since this practical claim has been declared a dogma of the Catholic Faith by the Vatican Council, this barrier has become insurmountable to the Orthodox, for Orthodoxy cannot accept the Roman "dogma" which sanctifies all the doctrinal innovations of the Roman Catholic Church which prepares the way for others through the authority of the infallible Pope and which is gradually stifling the freedom of enquiry of theological thought and is constraining it to become servile or tendentiously pliant.

I do no more here than point out the inevitable inference for the Orthodox conscience, *viz.*, that Reunion with Rome is impossible because of this claimed and practised Papal Supremacy *de jure divino*.

It is noteworthy that Cardinal Mercier, in his letter of 18th

January, 1924, says that in the Conversations which he has had with Anglicans, as defined by the Vatican Council, "the Papal Primacy was the first thing and the last thing to be discussed."

Hence the chief matter for discussion between us in regard to Reunion is the Papacy as divinely infallible and supremely authoritative over the whole Church.

II.

The Orthodox do more than refuse to accept, they reject such a Papacy altogether and with it they repudiate a Catholicism which does homage to it. Mgr. Batiffol asserts that in that rejection the East renounced something which in former times it had confessed as an article of faith and had accepted and conformed to in practice. Since I can find no trace of such doctrine or polity in Eastern Orthodoxy before the Great Schism, I must join Bishop Gore in traversing that assertion.

Evidently our mutual disagreement originates in our assigning differing interpretations to certain historical facts of which, in my first article, to avoid polemics or apologetics, I gave only the Orthodox explanation and interpretation. Of these I must now add my justification.

In order to show us where we are wrong, Mgr. Batiffol now declares that in the past we ourselves held the above doctrine of the Papacy as our own faith. This appears to me to mean that, having previously accepted the Papacy as so defined, we renounced it in 1054 and are now in contradiction with ourselves—indeed, that we are "condemned of ourselves" (Tit. iii, 11.), which, if Mgr. Battiffol's premises were correct, we certainly should be beyond question and without doubt.

But it is precisely here that I read with amazement his comments on what I wrote: "cette affirmation massive est de mon cru," and his explication for my benefit, "l'identité de la papauté à travers les siècles . . . doit être entendu en fonction de la loi de développement" and "il faut en outre soigneusement distinguer ce qui appartient à la constitution divine de l'Eglise de tout ce qui est institution ecclésiastique contingente."

To speak frankly, the particular points of these remarks and their significance have little interest for me in the present connection; for we are concerned here with the Papacy as it is to-day with its prerogatives of *infallibility in dogma and of universal government.*

After the few parenthetic remarks of Mgr. Batiffol, does the Papacy of to-day appear to be a modern formation in comparison with the earlier, or does it appear to be identical and the same in those two essential properties?

If he says that the former is the case, then I agree with him; but if so, a former recognition of the older Papacy on our part would

President of the Pilgrimage

Abp. of Jordan at Bethlehem

At Greek Convent, Bethlehem

Courtyard: Ch. of Holy Sepulchre

Group at Greek Patriarchate; Archbishop Damianos in centre

"Archbishop Damianos" should read "Patriarch Damianos."

have no bearing upon our attitude to that of the present Papacy and, in consequence, appeals to our past history can neither convict us of a betrayal of our own faith nor serve as evidence of a former belief on our part in the Papacy to which, in the name of our ancient doctrine and practice, we are now constrained to adhere. On the contrary, we hold that, whatever orientation to the Papacy we ever occupied, we occupy to-day. And we are ready to return to it in our relations with Rome at any time. The length, indeed, to which we are prepared to go in that direction will be manifest from the fact that that austere guardian and meticulous exponent of Eastern Orthodoxy, the Metropolitan Anthony of Kiev—Hrapovitsky—has recently expressed himself as favourable to the possibility of granting the Pope a supremacy in rank, *de jure ecclesiæ*, over the other Patriarchs (*Cp. Church Times*, December 28th, 1923, and *Tserkovniya Viedemoste*, 1923, Nos. 23-4). For my own part, I consider his declaration to be hasty and untimely, since Roman Catholicism, believing that it possesses far more *de jure divino*, will not respond to his advances. But it will serve to prove that as soon as the Papacy expresses its desire to place itself in the same relation to us as it was in the time of the Œcumenical Councils, there will be no dogmatic obstacles in Eastern Orthodoxy to its recognition by us.

Further, if the modern Papacy, with the properties claimed as above, be an innovation, our former attitude towards the former Papacy cannot be our appropriate attitude to the Papacy of to-day; we should be bound to change that attitude even though we had hitherto observed it, and, even so, since our past would have no relation to our present, the former would be no precedent for the latter. Although the one succeeds the other immediately, our life in the daytime differs from our life in the night. Once the complete novelty of the Papacy is admitted, neither its vindication nor its acceptance on the ground of a past in which it was something different, becomes possible.

In view of all this, Mgr. Batiffol's train of argument was as unexpected as it is unconvincing. If, therefore, I were to go on with this discussion, I could do so only on the *petitio principii* of assuming the Papacy as it is—the Papacy of modern times—to be the same as the Papacy of ancient times.

III.

The claim of the Papacy to-day is to divinely-given authority in the Catholic Church of Christ. We reject that claim emphatically, and are reproached in answer that there was a time when we admitted it—as witness the undoubted fact that there were "appeals" from the East to Rome. We admit the fact of those appeals—fully and gladly. Only we put in a caveat that they occurred and were

made, not because of a dogmatic belief in a divinely-given Supremacy of the Pope, but through a sheer necessity which became inevitable when the East was in the throes of disturbance and of terror while the West remained a bulwark of Orthodoxy and a defence of truth. No appeal was then possible except to Rome, and Rome was respected as an Apostolic See which was *primus inter pares*. The inference that the divinely-given prerogatives now claimed by the Papacy existed and were recognised at that time is hardly more possible than the obverse inference which might be wrongly made from similar appeals of the West to the East.

Stress is laid on the use by the Easterns in these appeals of expressions that are almost servile. The fact is admitted, but its reasonable explanation is furnished by a consideration of the circumstances in which the East and the West were placed—the latter, the suppliant, naturally used expressions that were best calculated to win the favour of the former. It is axiomatic that every right involves a corresponding obligation and, assuming the existence of a right to decide, an appeal becomes less the asking a favour than the claiming the performance of a duty. Viewed in the light of this truism, the often immoderate eloquence of Byzantium tends to prove that the East did not recognise a juridical Supremacy of Rome —for otherwise it would have to be agreed that the latter exacted sycophancy as a preliminary to the exercise of an obligatory function. That the Papacy has used these appeals as the basis of a claim to juridical prerogatives means no more than that (as my late famous colleague, Prof. V. V. Bolotov, who, by the way, is sometimes misrepresented by some propagandists as favouring the modern Papacy—to which, indeed, he was altogether opposed—says) the East gave too liberal an interpretation to Proverbs xxvi, 4, without checking it by the next verse. In responding to the requests of the Easterns, the Popes utilised them to assert a supremacy and so turned them to a purpose both outside of and in opposition to that with which they were made. On the other hand, the Eastern appellants were precluded by their condition of distress from protesting and began to answer only in the time of Photios, and then not with humble bows but with reasoned blows.

It is just this practice of turning such things to its own advantage which has created throughout the Orthodox East that deep and inherited suspicion of the Papacy which exists even when there may be no real ground for it—as, for example, in unhappy Russia to-day, where, in spite of their pressing need, the people are afraid to ask anything of the Pope for fear that their doing so may be interpreted as implying an admission of Papal supremacy and infallibility and that they may be told hereafter, as was Ignatios of Constantinople by John VIII., "You have repaid your benefactress, the Roman Church, with the blackest ingratitude."

In my opinion, an appeal must be interpreted in the sense intended by the appellant. Any ambiguity in what he says must be explicated by the exegesis of existing circumstances, *i.e.*, by the very method which I have to thank Mgr. Batiffol for commending to me for the elucidation of Biblical texts, with which, indeed, I am not dealing here—though, in passing, I may say that I dislike appeals to the Bible in polemics, for, in my judgment, our interconfessional controversies are characterised not by a constructive use of the Bible but by a destructive misuse, *e.g.*, by such shameful pseudo-exegetical extravagances which, I am thankful to say, that I have neither approved nor allowed, to which Mgr. Batiffol refers. As an example, however, in the light of P. Roison's special work and of certain things in Clement's Epistle to the Romans, I fail to find any support for the claims of the modern Papacy in 1 Cor. I, 12.

I am entirely in agreement, however, with Mgr. Batiffol as to the principle that textual ambiguities are to be unveiled by history. On this principle the exuberant rhetoric of the Byzantines receives a clear historic interpretation that the Easterns rejected Papal supremacy and had not, therefore, professed it formerly.

In the light of that fact I am infinitely astonished and cannot comprehend how Catholic writers can set themselves seriously to prove that even the Patriarch Photios, who is the object of their special dislike, held pro-Papal opinions.

It is plain that the method is that the public prosecutor should play his rôle, and with all the methods of securing a conviction with or without direct or circumstantial evidence should press our prosecution.

We are in the dock as criminals of the worst character. Our categorical statements are taken as mere disavowals and we are confuted by our own words and actions.

That forensic method will lead neither to our conversion nor to mutual reconciliation.

Finally, we can only reply in the words of St. Paul, "If I build up again those things which I have destroyed, I prove myself a transgressor," Gal. ii, 18.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ANGLICAN AND SOUTH-INDIAN "SYRIAN" CHURCHES.

(Continued.)

By the Rev. W. S. Hunt, of the C.M.S.

It was through the Church Missionary Society that the Anglican Church did enter into definite relations with the Syrians. In 1816, in response to the invitation of the Syrian Metropolitan, conveyed to

them by the British Resident in Travancore, the Society sent out to him two men in Anglican orders and three more soon after. One was put in charge of a seminary, for general education as well as for the training of priests, which the metrān had built, under the stimulus of the Resident; one set to work to organise schools and to visit churches up and down the country; one to superintend the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular; and the others to carry on ordinary missionary work among non-Christians—all were invited to preach in Syrian churches, in which hitherto preaching had been unknown. Their object was the spiritual and intellectual improvement of the clergy and people, and to make them a medium for the evangelisation of India. These Anglican clergymen were, in effect, an advisory committee to the Syrian Church—and, in a sense, its executive officers. This was approved—or acquiesced in—by their bishop, while the Syrian metrān was practically the chairman of the committee. Bishop Middleton, in 1821, wrote, "I was with the Syrian bishop yesterday from 7 till 9 a.m., having no other person but an interpreter whom I could trust. . . The Church missionaries do indeed expound in the Syrians' churches to all who will hear them, and this is well received by the people, to whom it is something new; but the bishop assures me that nothing is done which he has any reason to complain of." And Dr. Mill, Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta, who came a few years later at the bishop's request, penned this somewhat portentous sentence—"Singular as such superintendence may appear, and almost unprecedented, there is nothing in it, as exercised by these clergymen, which opposes the order of that Episcopal Church which they visit, or, as far as I am capable of judging, of that to which they themselves belong. They do nothing but by the express sanction of the metrān . . . Their conduct with respect to those parts of the Syriac ritual and practice which all Protestants must condemn is that of silence, which, without the appearance of approval, leaves it to the gradual influence of the new knowledge now disseminating itself to undermine—and, at length, by regular authority, to remove—them."

This was in accordance with the Society's instructions to them, viz., "to make the Syrians as much as possible instrumental to their own improvement by means of their own respected authorities, the metrān and kattanārs (priests); to alter as little as possible that the character and individuality of the Syrian Church may be preserved."

The Resident, in one of his communications with the Society, had referred to the Church as being still "deformed by Popish ceremonies and superstitions" imposed upon it by the Portuguese, and the C.M.S. expressed the opinion that the Syrians "should be brought back to their ancient worship and discipline." Probably much that the Resident regarded as Popish was in reality Syrian. "Improve-

ment" meant, besides raising the moral tone of priests and people, clearing away (i.e., influencing the Syrians to clear away) ceremonies, etc., that were, in fact, Syrian and could not, of course, be cleared away without altering "the character and individuality" of the Church *as* Syrian. But the C.M.S., following Buchanan, probably believed that Antioch had abandoned the Church and that Antioch itself was moribund. The word "ancient" to them probably connoted the Church in its Nestorian phase as described by Geddes, or something even earlier, the Church as St. Thomas left it, the Church of the Apostolic Age.

For eight or nine years the relations between the Anglicans and Syrians were happy ones; there was, we read, "cordial co-operation." That could only be as long as both sides were mutually tolerant and animated by like ideas, as at first they were. But changes came. With the death of the metrān, and appointment of a man of a different stamp as his successor, the removal of the Resident (Munro), the replacing of some of the original missionaries by less tactful and tolerant younger men, increasing impatience for signs of "improvement" on the part of some of the C.M.S. committee, and the coming of a metrān from Antioch after so long an interval and consequent revival of enthusiasm for Jacobitism, relations grew more and more strained. At length, in 1835, they were formally ended by the metrān in synod ordering deacons and other students to absent themselves from the seminary and the doors of the churches to be closed to the missionaries.

The relations between the two parties had, of course, contained all along "the seeds of their own dissolution." To mention only one, there was the preaching of the missionaries. They had been instructed by the C.M.S. to confine themselves to "the plain truths of the Gospel," and these were set forth by the committee in the idiom of the Evangelical Revival of the preceding century, whose spiritual children the missionaries were. The preaching (no doubt, very fervent preaching) of those truths unsettled people unaccustomed to preaching and to whom those truths were practically new, and made not a few dissatisfied with their Church and anxious to reform it or leave it. This aroused indignation in others, and hostility to the missionaries. In that the new metrān shared, while the missionaries could hardly help sympathising with the would-be reformers.

Among the "improvements" which the C.M.S. were said to contemplate one was "to assimilate the Syrian Liturgy to that of the Church of England." It is possible that Resident Munro may have "urged the translation of the Liturgy of the Church of England and its being substituted in all Syrian churches in preference to all other forms of worship." He is said to have done so. But, of course, great as was his influence with the C.M.S., he was not the framer of their policy in such matters. Indeed, when the

Society heard that one of the missionaries had translated parts of the Book of Common Prayer into Malayālam, they "conveyed to the missionaries their decided judgment that the Syrians should be brought back to their own ancient worship and discipline rather than be induced to adopt the liturgy and discipline of the English Church," and any priests who might show a disposition to adopt them should be dissuaded from doing so. The missionaries themselves disclaimed any "wish to impose our ceremonies on the Syrians, much less to identify them with the Church of England." Later missionaries certainly criticised the Syrian Liturgy and ritual rather unsparingly and contrasted them disadvantageously with their own, and these things were published. One young newcomer especially used a foolishly contemptuous expression. But what exactly was proposed we know. It was not, indeed, a proposal, but a suggestion—and it was made with "all due deference, as from a stranger without authority," by the Bishop of Calcutta (Wilson) to the Syrian metrān in 1835, viz., "that a Malayālam Liturgy should be prepared from their various Syriac ones for general use, the Syriac being now a learned language and not understood by the people"—i.e., that a translation of their own Liturgy, not any other, with a selection from the numerous *anaphoras*, should be generally (not exclusively) used. It is probable that the Bishop and missionaries hoped that translation and selection might lead to revision, and perhaps rejection, of some, or all, of "those parts" that Dr. Mill had referred to; but, as a matter of fact, I have not seen it stated that this was so.

There was, however, an influential Syrian *Roni* who did translate and modify the Liturgy and use it in his church. He introduced other "reforms" and his example was followed by other priests. His nephew became Metropolitan about the middle of last century and sympathised with, and afterwards associated himself with, this movement. Word of his proceedings having reached the Patriarch, he was excommunicated and another priest was made metrān. The reforming metrān had already, with the Anyūr metrān, consecrated his successor, and they contested the validity of the excommunication. The matter was fought out in the courts, which ultimately declared the other man to be Metropolitan. All Church buildings and properties were awarded to him and those who followed him, who were adjudged "the Jacobite Church." The others called themselves the Mar Thoma Church and claim that theirs is the original Church, purged of Nestorian, Jacobite and Roman accretions and restored to its pristine purity.

Those missionaries who devoted themselves to the conversion of non-Christians had "Anglican" churches in which, besides English services for the English and Anglo-Indian people, vernacular services were held, a translation of the Prayer Book being used, as

is customary in Anglican missions. The converts formed the congregations, but Syrians employed by the missionaries as catechists, or teachers, as well as others who came out of interest or curiosity, attended, some of whom grew to like the services better than their own. In Kottayam also, the Syrian centre, the missionaries had English services in a chapel built for the use of themselves and their families, and here also some Syrians occasionally attended; for a time they had vernacular services or prayer-meetings in their grammar school. After the rupture a number of these Syrians were, at their request, received into the Anglican Church. Their descendants are "Syro-Anglicans."

In the course of a Charge delivered in Travancore during his first Metropolitical Visitation in 1843, the Bishop of Calcutta (Wilson), addressing the missionaries, said, "You have been licensed by the Bishop of Madras, your proper Diocesan, in consequence of the decision of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury[1] . . . I quite concur with your excellent bishop in all that he has done. I entirely approve of the principle on which he has recommended you to carry on your Mission, viz., absolute non-interference with the Syrian Church, as a Church, at present. The ancient Syrians must now seek us, not we them . . . We must look to the individual influence of education, the changes which God's Providence may silently effect, the new metrān and new clergy, with new dispositions, who may be raised up to solicit again our aid at any moment, and the general blessings of the Grace of God upon our labours." He commended their attitude of "avoiding all interference with the metrān and authorities of the Syrian Churches and awaiting a more favourable time for resuming your system of co-operation and aid with them."

The memory of these things, of all that led up to the rupture and the bitterness that followed it, affected the relations between the two Churches for many years. But each was soon absorbed in its own affairs—the Anglican in gathering in and edifying converts, especially from the outcastes, and in educational work, and the Syrian Churches in grappling with internal difficulties (of which each had its full share) and in carrying on its own specific work—and this caused each to follow its own course and develop according to its own genius, disregarding the others. And yet, of course, each was insensibly affecting the others. And there were occasions in that Hindu State when they stood side by side, supporting one another. It became a rule of the Anglicans not to admit Syrians into the Anglican Church. Except in the case of Syrian girls marrying Anglicans, and in other special cases where the transfer took place with the sanction of the authorities of both Churches, no Syrians have been admitted for the last fifty years.

[1] The Diocese of Madras was formed out of Calcutta in 1837.

There were occasions up to twenty years ago when the relations between the Churches were decidedly "difficult." Since then, however, one is thankful to say, they have grown year by year in friendliness and sympathetic understanding. To-day there is once more cordiality, and there is increasing co-operation, though from another basis than a hundred years ago.

Of course, it is realised that the official relations between the Churches must depend, from the Anglican side, upon the decision of Lambeth, and hang, in the case of the Jacobite and Syro-Chaldean Churches, upon any action that may be taken on the Report of the Commission appointed by the 1908 Lambeth Conference to examine the doctrinal position of each (at least, I suppose so) and, in the case of the Mar Thoma Church, upon the nature of the statement of its doctrine which it is now preparing. Meanwhile, we who live among the Syrians keep in friendly touch with them and are always on the look-out for opportunities to serve them in any way, and welcome such opportunities when they arise. The Syrians are so genuinely nice that that is not a difficult rôle, though it *has* been made a little hard by the fact that two of the Churches have been split into rival sections who have for years been fighting each other in the courts. Our Bishop (who is Bishop in Travancore and Cochin, and whose official relation to the Churches must be analogous to that of the Bishop in Jerusalem to the Eastern Churches in Palestine) has striven, ever since his consecration, eighteen years ago, not only to maintain friendly relations between us and the Syrians, but also to heal the breaches in their community. The appointment of the Rev. W. E. S. Holland as principal of the C.M.S. College has brought into Travancore one who is doing much to promote co-operation and eventual union. The annual visits of the fathers of the Oxford Mission in Calcutta, to conduct retreats for the Jacobite clergy and students, which are so much appreciated by them, and the work of the Sisters of the Epiphany for the girls and women of that Church, have forged a link between the Anglican and Jacobite Churches. The recent starting of a Union College in Alwaye, run by members of the Jacobite, Mar Thoma and Anglican Churches must have an important bearing on our subject. Upon the staff of our (C.M.S.) College and other educational institutions are members of all the Syrian Churches and upon that of our Divinity School is a priest of the Mar Thoma Church: clergy, including bishops, of that and the Jacobite Church, are among the former students of that institution. In our hostels and boarding-houses some of the future leaders of each Church are now rubbing shoulders. The relations are friendly and we pray for the time when the link may be closer still and that unitedly we may promote the Union of Christendom.

OUR BOOKSHELF.

THE LOST WORLD.

Origin of Christian Church Art, being Eight Lectures delivered for the Olaus-Petri Foundation at Upsala, to which is added a chapter on Christian Art in Britain by Josef Strzygowski, translated by Dalton & Braunholtz, Clarendon Press, 42s.

Next to English and Russian, German is the most expressive of modern languages, but perhaps for that very reason it can be parlous hard. We confess to having tried to read the author in the original, and to having been fascinated by what we made out of his book, but to having abandoned reading him in despair. We were therefore intensely grateful when we heard of this fine translation and hastened to acquire it.

Whatever may be the ultimate verdict as to whether Dr. Strzygowski has established his full case, the 30 years' patient investigation and cautious, if brilliant, theorising which are given to the world in these lectures, have permanently changed the perspective of our study not only of the Origin of Christian Art but of the Evolution of Œcumenical Christendom.

Dr. Strzygowski is frankly revolutionary. Art, and Art only, is his prime field of research. If he touches the categories which are our more direct concern in the *Christian East*—church history, theology, liturgiology, and so on—it is because he realises that they are not separate fields but component and vitally connected elements in a whole world.

While, therefore, the book with its delightful, rare and lavish illustrations of churches and other buildings—some have been wiped out in these last few years—of, to the ordinary student inaccessible, places in Armenia, Trans-Jordania and other Eastern lands, is a magnificent technical contribution to the study of Art, with but slight alteration, it might have been entitled *The Origin of Œcumenical Christendom, illustrated by Christian Art.*

Put briefly, the author's thesis—and it is refreshing to find it so—is that towards which many of us, and very notably Dr. Wigram, have been working these past 20 years, but of which in the eighties no one had a glimpse.

In other words, he perceives that in the pre-Constantinian era there were three worlds, each of which acted upon and was reacted upon by the other two, but which were distinct in type, mentality and culture, and therefore, though purging it, took over from their heathen past and present environment the body of their cultural equipment and evolved a characteristic art as well as a characteristic hymnology, liturgiology and hagiology—we might add polity and theology.

These three worlds were the Latin-Greek, the Syriac-Arab, the Perso-Iranian—and of these the last, which was always outside Christendom, *i.e.*, in the early and stricter connotation of the term, the dominion of the divinely consecrated Cæsar Augustus, was by no means the least important.

As to the stages by which Dr. Strzygowski reaches his conclusion that Christian Art is not, as we learnt at school, a branch of classical art, but drawing freely from Mazdæan, Semitic and other Eastern Arts, reached its synthesis in that triangle of Amidia-Nisibis-Edessa, where in the past centuries Armenian, Persian and Syrian influences touched each other and were fused as they still touch and are fused to-day, we must leave the reader to follow for himself.

As in the physical world so in the Christian, great cataclysms of conquest such as followed the Islamic wave, theological controversies such as the Iconoclastic, ecclesiastico-political events, prosperity, decadence, a thousand tendencies acted within and upon the nations that adopted Christianity. The traces of the complex interplay of those forces may be found not only in written history, which, as it has come down to us and is interpreted, records almost always only the partial or prejudiced view of the

Romano-Greek world, but in the liturgies, theologies, and other monuments which we still possess. We ourselves may study its traces in those scanty modern representations of the Syriac-Semites, the unhappy "Jacobites" and of the Perso-Iranians, the "Assyrians"—the People of Mar Shimun, himself the lineal successor of the Catholici of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, the true "Patriarchs of the East"; for Constantinople, though Eastern to us, was the metropolis of Greco-Roman Christendom and for the early centuries was Western.

In the next generation, be it noted, by the act of Mustapha Kemal and the consent of Europe, there will be no "Jacobite" or "Assyrian" to study.

The evidence of brick and stone, however, is ampler and, alas! more enduring, and though the last word has not been said, there can be no dispute that by its use Dr. Strzygowski has helped to give us a glimpse of a "lost world," the fuller knowledge of which will necessitate our restating much of the accepted history of Theology, and of Church history, and with them of Christian civilisation.

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

Robert H. Gardiner, R.I.P.

THE cause of Reunion owes so large a debt under God to "the World Conference on Faith and Order" that we have no words to express our grief and sense of loss at the untimely death of the man to whose indomitable and apostolic optimism it owed its origin and thanks to whom it has done the great things which it has done. That Mr. Gardiner was a rare Christian is the universal witness of all who knew him, but that alone would not have enabled him to establish a world-wide society with official representatives of practically every type of Christianity, except the Roman Church, to explore the possibilities of Reunion. His success was due also to his exceeding reverence for men's convictions and to the resulting fact that he shrank as from sin from the mere thought of asking them to compromise them. That is why we ourselves, for example, not only felt the greatest confidence in the machine which he did so much to create, but never found anything in its procedure or *acta* patent of our criticism. His was a dream of the stuff of which God weaves a lasting fabric. The greatest anxiety is felt as to the future of the Conference thus deprived of its mainspring. We must see to it that it goes on. "He has no successor," writes the Chairman of the Continuation Committee, Bishop Brent, "but will you make it known that our Office has been moved to Boston, and that its address will be the Secretariat, P.O. Box 226, Boston, Mass., U.S.A." We cannot but print what Bishop Brent himself has to say of Mr. Gardiner:—

Robert Hallowell Gardiner has made the great enterprise of death, calmly and victoriously, as he lived. He was always ambitious to be quiet and I never knew him to be beaten in an undertaking. There was no jolt or break in the continuity of his life in his going. One Sunday he held fellowship in the Sacrament with the only Master he ever knew. The next, his Communion was face to face. A glad prisoner of hope, he passed from the steady expectation of visible unity on earth, according to Christ's promise, to its more perfect realisation beyond.

The profound impression made upon the Christian world by what he was and did

baffles description. It is not too much to say that there is not a Church in Christendom, great or little, ancient or new, that does not know his name and feel kinship with his lofty soul. Better than that, his name carries with it a vision, a responsibility and a purpose, for it was not himself but Christ whom he exalted. He counted himself but the cup-bearer of the King. He was one of those rare souls who are able to see that the unity of Christendom always outstrips its divisions. His catholicity was not a theory but a character. His greatest weapon was his considerateness and his ability to understand others when they were busy misunderstanding him.

Early in his career "he gave his heart to the Purifier, and his will to the Sovereign Will of the Universe." More than that, he never took back that which he once for all surrendered, and his deepening life became yearly more firmly rooted in the unseen. There was no part of his life and activity which was not Christian. His ancestral home with its gracious hospitality, his business office with its ordered activities, his citizenship in the nation and in the world, his benevolences, whether in his local community or in the uppermost parts of the earth, were all swept under the control of the living Christ, whose he was.

His rounded character, while it rejoiced and grew in the fertile soil of home, could not be purely domestic. He had an international mind because he had an international heart. He aimed to love all whom Christ loves and to serve all whom Christ serves. With him this was no pale idea but the steady flame of a noble passion. When the moment came to proclaim, as no one of our generation has proclaimed as he has done, responsibility for the recovery of the unity of the Church "that the world may believe that thou hast sent me," he did not hesitate to stoop his shoulders to a burden such as few outside his family and more intimate friends have ever measured or can measure. Had it not been for him, practical steps to make a World Conference on Faith and Order an enterprise would have been wanting. No cost was too great to pay that he might give his best, which was his all, to the cause. It held him in thrall and he was content that it should be so. When others criticised and faltered, when pristine interest wilted before difficulty and discouragement, when financial anxieties darkened the horizon, he, the chief burden-bearer, kept the fire of his loyalty burning with the pure flame of undiminished ardour and hope and expectation. Once and again he was warned that he was taxing his vitality beyond the safety point, but he continued his course with but little diminution of activity. To the shame of us who remain be it said that, had there been a more general sharing of responsibility—responsibility that was no more his than that of every Christian and Churchman—if there had been a more generous financial support by those who could easily have lifted entirely that pressure for money which should never have been his at all, but which he patiently accepted and frequently met from private resources, Robert Hallowell Gardiner would have been with us still. An undue burden, carried on behalf of mankind first at the behest of his own Church and then of all the Churches, has shortened his days and taken away prematurely a force making for Christian goodwill which we can ill afford to lose. Even though it be true that "greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends," we ought not to have allowed to happen that which in this instance has happened, to our impoverishment and discomfiture.

Ordinary gratitude should and must rouse us to take up the torch he held so high and carry it with the same gallantry and consecration that characterised his course from first to last. Frequently it happens that a great souled man can accomplish by his death that which his life alone fails to do. It is for us to do now those steady, inconspicuous tasks, without which the noblest vision will fade and the sanest programme fail. The date of the World Conference is set for 1927, and the time is all too short for that which must be done between now and then. We have no excuse for hesitation. His last week on earth was not idle. Ill unto death though he was, his mind was filled with his old school and the World Conference. He worked to the end until his tired heart ceased to beat and his great soul entered into a rest and peace that was won.

The A. and E.C.A. Anniversary.

The Anglican and Eastern Churches Association will hold its eighteenth anniversary on Wednesday, November 12th of this year, and we invite all those who are interested to make a note of the date.

On Tuesday evening, November 11th, the "All-Night" or Vigil Office will be sung in the Russian Church of St. Philip, Buckingham Palace Road. This Office consists of Vespers, Mattins and Prime, and is said in Russian churches on all Saturdays and eves of great festivals. It is a service of great beauty, and we think that many of our readers will be glad of this opportunity of being present at it.

The Divine Liturgy will be sung on the following morning at the Greek Cathedral of St. Sophia, Moscow Road, Bayswater, by His Grace the Metropolitan Germanos, who has kindly consented to say some words of welcome, and the Very Rev. the Dean of Canterbury will preach a sermon.

In the evening of the same day there will be a Public Meeting (preceded by the usual business meeting of the Association) in the Great Hall of the Church House. The Rt. Rev. Bishop Gore will take the chair, and Sir Henry Slesser, the Solicitor-General, has promised to address the meeting. It is hoped that Sir Samuel Hoare also will speak, but we must not definitely announce that he will, as, at the time this goes to Press, his final answer has not yet been received.

We think that these arrangements ought to insure a really good anniversary celebration, and we hope that all our readers in and near London will do their part, by filling the churches and the hall.

The Velehrad and Other Conferences.

Speaking of Conferences we cannot but regret that the Velehrad Conference was advertised as a Reunion Conference between the Orthodox and Roman Catholics. To begin with, the magnificent Czecho-Slovak monastery has long been known as the centre of the type of the active missionary propaganda against the Slav Churches, which has done more than anything to embitter historic Orthodox antipathy towards the Papacy. Further, the personel of the organisers, Father Michel d'Herbigny, Bishop Shepitsky, Father Verchowsky (a Russian convert to the Unia), being identical with that of the directors of that propaganda, it was plain that the Orthodox would fight shy of the whole business. In fact, though generous offers of travelling expenses and so on were held out to them, the Orthodox, Russians, Greeks, Rumanians and Serbs were unanimous in refusing the invitation tendered them, and in the end the Conference became that which it would have been wiser to have styled it *ab incepto*—a Conference of Latin and Uniate missionaries on the best method of approaching the Orthodox. In the reports of the Conference which have reached us, however, we find no mention of discussion

of the methods adopted by Cardinal Mercier. In our judgment, great though the difficulties of reconciliation between the Orthodox and the Papacy are, they are not hopeless of surmounting. We believe that, if Cardinal Mercier called a Conference—which has worked such wonders in England—in the clearer air of Malines, the trust and hope which centre in his name would produce rich results in the removal of that bitterness and distrust which are fatal to the approach to the discussion of Reunion.

The Rumanian Church.

Biserica Ortodoxa of Bucharest for July contains a long and reasoned rescript of the Holy Synod ordering the adoption of the new Calendar, set up by last year's Constantinople Conference, from October, 1924. The rescript is at pains to point out that this Calendar is an improvement on the Gregorian and will correspond precisely with the solar year. But the fact that it will to all intents be the same as our own will being the East and West nearer together. It must be remembered, however, that the change of Calendar is still a matter of controversy in the Orthodox Church, the other "Eastern Patriarchs" having urged its postponement for full Œcumenical consideration. The same magazine in its June issue gave a translation from the *Christian East* of Prof. Komnenos' memorable brochure on Anglican Orders, together with our editorial notes thereon. The fact that Canon Bate, of Carlisle, is to lecture this month in Bucharest by invitation, and will deal with the problem of our Orders, makes this a matter of interest and satisfaction. The Bishop of Gibraltar, whose former visit was so fruitful, is also expected in Bucharest this autumn.

The Wembley Exhibition and Some Fine Books.

We are obliged to postpone reviews of some notable books. Among these we commend Commander Luke's *Anatolica*, a remarkable book of general information and delightful atmosphere, which everybody ought to read; Mr. Lowrie's *Light of Russia*, which, though *not* a good handbook to the Russian Church as according to advertisement, is remarkable as evidence of the extraordinary goodwill felt to the Orthodox by American Protestantism of the Christian student movement type and as illustrative of that important factor in Reunion work, and especially Sir Ronald Storr's Pro-Jerusalem Society's *Jerusalem*. This last will be especially welcome by all who are interested in Mr. Whittingham's account of the Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage and praise of the work and kindness of Sir Ronald at the Governorate of the Holy City. Incidentally we may say that the Pro-Jerusalem Society, which is the latter's creation, has been at great expense and trouble to send magnificent models of the antiquities of the Holy Land to the Palestine Pavilion at Wemb-

ley. We trust that, following the Archbishop of Canterbury's example, all our readers will have profited by examining them. Lastly, the Dean of Canterbury's "Documents on Christian Unity" is of the first importance.

Bolshevik Inventions.

Difficulties which have arisen between the Œcumenical Patriarchate and the Russian exiles in Constantinople having been used by the Moscow Red Press to start rumours which have been copied in a section of the continental Press, we have received this *démenti* from the Secretary of the Constantinople Synod: The statements attributed to the representatives of the Œcumenical Patriarch in Moscow are manifest fabrications, the Œcumenical Patriarchate having never considered the suspension or deposition of the Patriarch Tikhon, who up to this day is duly commemorated in the Diptychs at the Patriarchal Cathedral, or of any other Russian Bishop or ecclesiastic whatever. Furthermore, the Œcumenical Patriarchate has never considered the transference of its own Throne to Russia.

The marvel is that anyone could have credited such nonsense. The Russian Church is autokephalous and the Œcumenical Patriarch, while *primus inter pares*, is not a Pope.

CHURCH QUESTIONS IN HELLAS.

Students of history often find it interesting to trace out both parallels and differences in the tale of the development of institutions, and the parallelism between the present set of problems presented to the Church of Hellas for solution and those put to the Church of England in the 16th century is instructive.

In both, we have the Church of a small nation, intensely conscious of its own national life, and full of as much proper pride as is good for it. In both, a flood of new light on all things in heaven and earth has been poured upon the members of the Church by a series of developments in matters scientific and political, and men who are sadly dazzled by the new illuminations are puzzled how to direct their steps on the old paths; in both, the question has to be faced, how far a most natural conservatism, with which everyone wishes to sympathise, has the right to dictate lines of action or inaction.

Thus, in Greece, as in sixteenth-century England, the question is now arising, "what is to be done with the monasteries?" At one time, in both nations, they were the natural expression of piety and devotion, and the places where such learning as could be salved was preserved. The immense number of the monasteries founded—always by private generosity—both in mediæval England and in later Greece, is proof enough of the fact that they responded to a then existing need; they were, for centuries, the only centres of education and learning open to the common folk, one of the principal instruments by which the Church was able to do her great work of preserving the national life intact, under the great glacier of overlying Islam.

But, just as in fifteenth-century England it seems that the monasteries were ceasing to do the work that they had done in the thirteenth, and were showing the fact by their declining numbers of their inmates, so it is in Greece now. The monasteries are there, and they have the endowments which old piety gave them, and which Islam, to do it justice, did not attempt to take away in the old days. Yet—where are the inmates? Even at sanctuaries like Athos the complaint is the same in house after house. "Once we had two hundred monks, now we have less than a hundred—and they are old men, all. Where are the novices?" The fact is past denial, and can only be explained in part by the law, according to which it is no longer possible to win exemption from conscription by becoming a novice in a monastery, and thereby settling down to a not uncomfortable bachelor existence—supposing your previous life to have been that of a peasant—with the prospect of even making a comfortable fortune towards the end of it. Many monks in the monasteries of the Orthodox Church have the opportunity of farming the monastic properties for their own benefit, and some make a good thing out of it.

If that were all, one would rejoice in the lessening of the numbers, feeling that the spiritual strength of any monastery will not be increased by novices who come in to avoid military duty and to make cash! It is, however, not only the wasters who are being kept out, but, as in the case of ordinands elsewhere, the church is ceasing to draw to her service the men whom an earlier generation sent there.

This may be partly accounted for by the fact that, in modern Greece, there are so many careers open to a youngster that were closed to him in days of Ottoman rule, but partly also, as with us, by the fact that religion does seem to have lost its grip and attractiveness for the majority of the rising generation.

Be that as it may, emptying monasteries are the fact, and churches, if far from being empty, are no longer as full as they used to be. Meantime, a government that is in need of money for a thousand things, beneficial and doubtful, begins to cast covetous eyes on the endowments, and to ask if they would not be "better devoted to practical ends." I do not say that plunder is so openly and unashamedly the motive as was the case with Harry the Eighth of unholy memory, though cases of corruption are not altogether unknown. Still, neoptism is as much part of the established order of things in modern Greek government departments, as it was in those of our own not so very long ago. The nineteenth century was on us, before the idea of the "Paymaster-General" not making a fortune out of his office could dawn upon the British consciousness! A government too, that, like that of the Greeks in the present day, that has to find productive employment for refugees amounting to more than 20 per cent. of the population, is apt to look around for any "hen-roost to rob." British authorities have done that with less temptation; what would they have done had they had a million destitute refugees to provide for? Yet that figure, due regard being had to relative numbers of population, would about represent what Greek ministers have to face!

It is not unlikely, then, that the next year or so will see some rather drastic changes made in Greek monasteries, though not, we think, in Greek monasticism. The numbers of monks and monasteries will go

down, though monastic life will not be altered in itself, even if it is decreased in volume. What all well-wishers of Greece would like to see is this, that the Church should recognise that some changes are inevitable, and should see to it that the diverted properties are used, not, as we used them, merely for the enrichment of a squirearchy, large or small, that may be trusted to support the government in its difficulties, but for the purposes of general and, more particularly, clerical education, which is known to stand in need of reform, and large funds for the purpose. What we fear is, that conservatism in the Church may be an obstacle to this as to so much else. Many conservatives regarded the Ex-patriarch Meletius with grave suspicion, as a "concessionist" and "modernist," and looked on his fate and that of the Church in Constantinople as just the sort of judgment that might be expected under the circumstances. Those who take a line like that are only too likely to be able to kill conservative reform when it is needed, and so bring on the more violent measures, to which they will then submit with heroic endurance. Such conservatives, of course, are to be found in the monasteries, many of which have so far utterly refused to accept and use the new calendar. "I tell you the truth," said one charming old specimen of the type to the writer, even while extending to him the most delightful hospitality, "the Panagia *does not like* this new calendar. More, Saint George does not like it either. There was a concessionist priest who sang the office of St. George before the saint on the new-fangled day—and the Saint fell down flat on the ground."

The incident as reported raises the question, "We of the West do not like the exaggerated reverence paid by the East to the Eikons of saints—but what is one to do when the Eikon (if the phrase be allowed) plays up as undeniably as does the Statue at Lourdes?"

Twice in the last few weeks in one district only, have men gone to the Eikon for help in their need, and on each occasion the help has come when everything else failed. The incidents in question happened on Mount Athos, where two formidable forest fires, at opposite ends of the peninsula, threatened two separate monasteries. In one case, at least (that of Khilliandari) the danger was so great that the monastery was reported in the Greek and European Press as absolutely destroyed. In actual fact, the flames from the burning forest were lapping the outbuildings of the monastery, when the monks, in despair of all human aid, brought out their most sacred Eikon, "Our Lady of the Three Hands," and put it in the path of the fire. On the instant the wind changed, the fire was driven away from the monastery, and back on to the already devastated area, where it soon went out for lack of fuel.

Was it wonderful that those who appealed to the Eikon (which gets its name from the fact that a hand of St. John Damascene is included in the composition) should feel that it had saved them, and that when you suggest coincidence, they smile. The case at "the great Lavra" at the other end of the peninsula was the same in all essential features.

The position "I don't know how it happens, but it works" is one that may claim Gospel authority, and till the philosopher has accounted for the facts, let him be as sceptical as he likes himself—but let him not wonder, or sneer at, the beliefs of those who, being nearer to nature, are sometimes also nearer to truth.

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